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THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRY UPON A RURAL COMMUNITY

presented by

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THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRY UPON A RURAL COMMUNITY ✓

by

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Walter E. Freeman

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### The Problem and Its Significance

The problem of this thesis will be concerned with the Impact of Industry Upon a Rural Community. It will be a study in social change. In the United States, one of the basic cultural characteristics has been rapid change.<sup>1</sup> A nation with frontiers and a constant influx of European immigrants has contributed to a continual process of social movement and change. Other changes presented the United States with a growing population and a trend from an agricultural economy to one in which industry and commerce tend to be of major significance. Many studies have been made on the growth of the city and theories related to urban ecology, social problems, social disorganization, and other social processes associated with city growth have emerged.

There has been a noticeable trend in the last few years for urbanites to seek homes in areas removed from the concentration of city life. Suburbs have grown in most urban areas and in large metropolitan cities there has been such a methodical outward migration from the center that a theory of concentric circles of living has been used to describe this phenomenon.<sup>2</sup> This decentralization process<sup>3</sup> marks the change in

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1. Miner, Horace, Culture and Agriculture: An Anthropological Study of a Corn Belt County. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1949, p.75

2. Park, R. E. and E. W. Burgess, The City. Chicago: University Press, 1925.

3. Ogburn, W. F. and Meyer F. Nimkoff, Sociology. Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1940, p.414.

population movement, namely a movement from city to country. Studies dealing with the decentralization process have primarily been concerned with mass movements towards the periphery of large metropolitan areas.<sup>4</sup> There has also been a movement from cities to rural areas, which are within commuting distance of the city.

This trend of population to rural areas brought with it an interest in moving branch factories of large industries into rural areas, or the establishment of small independent industries in rural communities. The consequences of this change, on the culture and social structure of the rural communities which are effected, are of great interest to the sociologist and anthropologist. A significant field of interest now becomes focused upon the urbanite who moves to a rural community and brings an urban culture and an urban way of life with him. It is upon this point of interest that the problem of this thesis is focused. The changes which occur as a result of a new way of life having been brought into a rural community result in questions related to the effect such a process has upon a given social structure. Changes which occur to both the old and new structure as they attempt to accommodate or conflict with each other, become aspects of interest which must be answered in order to understand the impact of an industry which came to a small rural community.

A pilot reconnaissance of a rural community in Michigan, in the early part of 1952, provided the writer with a detailed knowledge of a community which had undergone a great change in social structure during the

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4. Carpenter, Niles, The Sociology of City Life. New York: Longmans, Green, 1932.

last seventeen years and was still in the process of such a change.<sup>5</sup> It was decided that this community would be a significant unit of study in the light of social change. Since a small industry had established itself in the town for a period of seventeen years and since the town had prospered to such an extent that it had almost doubled its population, preparation was made to do an analysis of social structure. People of the village were willing to talk of the change from the old to the new in a way that it indicated that this community had already reached a high degree of integration between the old way of life and the new. But there was still evident in their conversation the fact that complete integration had not occurred. A brief survey of the local paper indicated to even a greater degree that certain cleavages still existed.

To summarize:

This study is concerned with the dynamic relationships that are found in a rural community which has recently undergone changes in the social structure.

#### Method of Study

The questions to be answered in this thesis are:

How and to what extent does the structure of a community persist when certain events bring about change within the related parts of that structure?

How are changes in the structure redefined?

It is assumed in this thesis that social change is an aspect of the nature of a social system. It will be further assumed that a community

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5. The town studied will be given the fictitious name of Mohawk. It is located in a rich agricultural county in southern Michigan.



is a social system. In viewing the community of Mohawk as a social system the following definition of Radcliffe-Brown will be used:

"In a social system the entities are individual human beings, in certain relations, which are differentiated from and isolated from all other relations in the universe. The individuals exist as units, but also, considered through time, are each characterized by a set of related acts of behavior which themselves constitute a system."<sup>6</sup>

A further assumption of this thesis is that social systems are persistent. "The characteristic of any persistent system is that it maintains through a certain lapse of time its structural continuity."<sup>7</sup>

In viewing the social system, Radcliffe-Brown notes that "social systems do not die. They always change into something else."<sup>8</sup> The quality of change is expressed in two forms.

✓ "There is a change within the structure. But it does not affect the structural form of the society....The other type of change occurs when a society, as the result of disturbances induced either by internal developments or impact from without, changes its structural form."<sup>9</sup>

MacIver states in the foreword of his analysis of social change,

✓ "The Social Structure is subject to incessant change, growing, decaying, finding renewal, accommodating itself to extremely variant conditions and suffering vast modifications in the course of time. Its contemporaneous aspect holds and hides the secret of its past. We know its nature, as we know the nature of the living person, only in the comprehension of it through a time-span. Its meaning is never revealed in any moment of

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6. Radcliffe-Brown, A.R., The Nature of a Theoretical Natural Science of Society. (Notes on a discussion in a seminar at the University of Chicago, 1937.) University of Chicago, 1948, p.25.

7. Ibid, p.14.

8. Ibid, p.45.

9. Ibid, p.48.

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its existence, but, finally and fully, only in the whole process through which it passes. To understand the social structure we must therefore view it in the historical process, seeking continuity, observing also how differences emerge. We must, in other words, discover the direction of change, or all is meaningless."<sup>10</sup>

In trying to view aspects of persistency, historical events are recorded in an attempt to understand the social structure of Mohawk through time. "The phenomenal intelligible reality of entities (or objects) consists of events or sets of events and the relations of real interconnectedness between them. An event is a possible or actual occasion of experience."<sup>11</sup>

Constant reference has been made to social structure and its relationship to change. It is not to be equated with the concept of a social system but is instead a condition of social systems.

✓ "...structure is a relatively fixed relationship between elements, parts, or entities...In the interests of realism it is best to speak of the structure of social phenomena only where there is an important degree of continuity where human activities are so patterned (recurrent) that we can observe a group standardization persisting, although changing, over a considerable time."<sup>12</sup>

It is in this sense that "structure" will be pursued throughout the remainder of this thesis.

No attempt will be made to make a complete analysis of change within the social structure of Mohawk. Such a task would be outside the scope of this thesis and would require many observers as well as a tremendous

10. MacIver, R.M. and Charles H. Page, Society: An Introductory Analysis. New York: Rinehart and Company Inc. 1950, p.508.

11. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., op. cit., p.6.

12. Williams, Robin M., American Society: A Sociological Interpretation. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, p.20.

amount of time. In delimiting the area of analysis certain institutions will be observed, as well as some of the formal organizations which make up part of the total relationships of the community. Although various events have caused change as they have occurred through time in Mohawk, specific treatment will be given to the introduction of an industry, an event which was destined to produce changes that make up the problem of this thesis. From the time of the inclusion of industry, events and the relationships they reveal will be concerned with the social structure of Mohawk in 1951.

#### Related Studies in Social Change

Numerous studies in social change have been concerned with various phases of social process.<sup>13</sup> Some of the work in social change has centered in broad historical trends and the problem of change from the standpoint of evolution.<sup>14</sup> Some historical trends have been considered in the light of cyclical theories.<sup>15</sup> Except from the general point of view these have little meaning to the problem at hand.

Broad theoretical considerations of change have been mentioned already in reference to Radcliffe-Brown<sup>16</sup> and MacIver and Page.<sup>17</sup> These general considerations consider social change within the entire field of social

13. MacIver, R. M. and Charles H. Page, op. cit., notes on further readings, pp.665-673.

14. Keller, C. G., Societal Evolution. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947.

15. Toynbee, A. J., An Abridgement by D. C. Somervell, A Study of History. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947.

16. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., op. cit., p.9.

17. MacIver, R. M. and Charles H. Page, op. cit., p.508.



science and sociology. More specific to this thesis are the studies mentioned before in which the interest is urban migration.<sup>18</sup>

Cultural studies in change by Redfield and Miner have shown a change from the primitive to modern societies.<sup>19</sup> Horace Miner's study of St. Denis<sup>20</sup> observes a French Canadian parish which has maintained itself through time in such a way that many of the original cultural elements of the structure in this society has gone on through time though the surrounding world has undergone tremendous changes. Observance of changes going on at the time of the study reveal significant findings.

"In every phase of life in St. Denis one finds cultural changes which have come about in the last one or two generations. Every society becomes altered through the years, but rural French-Canadian culture has changed more in the last forty years than it did in the preceding century...An intimate analysis of the parish social structure showed the direction of these changes and also indicated the reasons for these altered folkways."<sup>21</sup>

In viewing these changes, "this breakdown of old traditions and the diffusion of urban traits into the country",<sup>22</sup> Miner explains:

"It is commonplace that social systems change to meet their structural problems. When the traditional ways cease to solve the problems of life, social behavior varies from the old ways until a solution is found...The extent to which a society is internally well integrated expresses the probability of conflict

18. Park R. E. and E. W. Burgess, op. cit.  
Ogburn, W. F. and Meyer F. Nimkoff, op. cit.  
Carpenter, Niles, op. cit.

19. Redfield, Robert, Folk Culture of the Yucatan, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948.

20. Miner, Horace, St. Denis: A French Canadian Parish. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

21. Ibid., p.233.

22. Ibid.

and change. In the same way the degree to which the integration between the society and its habitat is satisfactory, even from a long-term point of view, is expressive of probable conflict and change."<sup>23</sup>

More pertinent to the problem of this thesis are the studies now to be mentioned, in that they also represent case studies of various communities undergoing similar problems of change that are treated in this thesis. Carle C. Zimmerman's book of the Changing Community,<sup>24</sup> takes case studies of various rural communities from the aspect of "change and constancy".<sup>25</sup> These communities were subjected to both internal and external forces which operate in such a way that the social structure of each is effected. Carr and Stermer study the Willow Run community that grew during the wartime crisis of production.<sup>26</sup> They are specifically interested in problems centered around the decentralization process.

Havighurst and Morgan study an Illinois community that had a population of 1,235 in 1942 and a population of 6,600 two years later. Their report is concerned with what happened to the people and institutions of the community when the town underwent an industrial boom during World War II.<sup>27</sup>

23. Ibid., p.235-236.

24. Zimmerman, Carle C., op. cit.

25. Ibid, p.26.

26. Carr, Lowell Julliard and James Edson Stermer, Willow Run. A Study of Industrialization and Cultural Inadequacy, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952.

27. Havighurst, R. J. and H. G. Morgan, The Social History of a War-Boom Community. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1951.



### Sources of Information

A large proportion of the data collected for the thesis has come from interviews with various citizens of the Mohawk community. Interviews were made with members of formal organizations, primarily, for the purpose of gaining knowledge of certain aspects of the social structure through an analysis of associations. These questions although formulated in the mind of the interviewer before they were taken, were not printed in the form of a schedule.

The interviewing consisted of two phases. The first phase asked such questions as:

When was your organization founded?

What does your organization stand for? What are its purposes, bi-laws, etc.?

What are some of the projects that your organization carries on?

What groups does your organization work with and why these groups?

What kind of people make up the membership of your group? (Probes were made to find out about old and new structure membership composition, awareness of stratification in higher and lower orders, and who were recognized leaders of the group.)

The second phase varied according to the informant and the knowledge that he had available as to present and past events. These questions were of a more general nature and concerned with the overall structural aspects of the village. They were worded as:

Tell me in your own words what kind of town is Mohawk? What was it like in the past?

How did Mohawk Products first come into the town?

What do you think in general about Mohawk Products and the people who work for them?

What do you think about the growth of Mohawk and the effect

that Mohawk Products has had upon this growth?

What are some of the interesting activities going on in Mohawk today?

What are some of the problems that Mohawk has to face today and in the future?

In the second phase of interviewing, many of the questions developed from previous knowledge of the town. This information was gained from secondary materials and former contacts with other informants.

Twelve members of organizations were interviewed according to the first and second techniques described. Only four other informants were interviewed through the second phase alone. This displays the nature of the approach into the community which was supposedly one of finding more about the organizational makeup of the town than anything else. It was believed by the writer that people were less suspicious than they might have been if another approach had been used.

Secondary information, in the form of the local newspaper, historical documents, and the village directory, was used. Much of the data was collected from contemporary newspaper articles and clarification of this data resulted from the interviews made afterwards. The Mohawk Herald was read throughout the year of 1951 by the writer and analysis was made in the area of the questions asked during the interviews. Historical information came mainly from documents in the possession of an old resident of the village who was in the process of writing a history of the community. Information that this person had recorded in the past, along with documents she had in her own possession made much of the historical analysis of this thesis possible. These documents were not used in such a way that they would provide concrete information but only as they were able to provide a

historical setting for the problem. Generalizations, then, were made mostly from interviews with this individual. Data she has worked so long and hard with for her final manuscript has been avoided inasmuch as it was not needed for this thesis and because it was yet in the process of development. The Mohawk village Directory was used for an analysis of the economic institution and the methods applied in compilation will be described in another chapter.

## CHAPTER II

### HISTORY OF MOHAWK

#### Early Settlement in Michigan and Mohawk

In settlement and growth of the Northwest Territory, Michigan lagged behind Ohio. To understand this fully, it is necessary to view political conditions that existed in the early 1800's.

One of the basic reasons Michigan fell behind Ohio in drawing settlers from the east, resulted from the reluctance of the English to give up Detroit at the end of the American Revolution. Although the colonies had won their independence by containing the British Empire, the war was far from over, either internationally or internally. It was yet to be proven that these bickering units of government could combine their strength enough to command the respect of the nations of the world and keep the territory they claimed as their own from being picked apart by their land hungry and aspiring neighbors. The English had decided that to carry on a colonial campaign was impossible with growing war clouds on the European Continent but the fur trading interests were still far from satisfied in leaving such a lucrative outpost as Detroit.

No longer supported by their Empire's armed might, the fur interests kept the Indians in a state of warfare by offering supplies and weapons in order to keep the settler out of the Northwest Territory. The Indian was not hard to convince as he saw the whites, year by year, spread further west and occupy what used to be his hunting grounds. It is not

necessary here to explain the historical tragedy of the American Indian but it should be noted that even before the Revolution, settlers had pushed into the Ohio River Valley and much of this area was beginning to be settled by men more interested in agriculture and sedentary living than their hunting and speculating predecessors.

It was the Northwest Ordinances which put the territory north of the Ohio River up for sale and provided for a pattern of settlement that could eventually make the newly formed areas equal states of their mother country.<sup>1</sup> Because of the need for 60,000 population before a territory could become a state and because of the concentration in any territory gave more strength to its political standings in the East, a growing competition emerged between the various areas which were drawing from the oncoming pioneers. Land speculation along with political ambition caused settlements to hungrily grasp for the human population of the East and at the same time paint as undesirable a picture as possible of the neighboring areas which were competitors.

Residents of the Ohio Territory readily passed on rumors back to the East that Michigan was a land of swamp, mosquitoes, and unfriendly Indians. Surveyors from the East, who were sent out because of the Ordinance of 1787, were always shown the less desirable sections of the territory and they in turn would take back with them supporting opinions as to the worthlessness of Michigan land. This competitive spirit manifested by the early settlers of Ohio was far from unique and as will be seen in the area of this study, presented in the following material, was

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1. Faulkner, Harold Underwood, American Economic History. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949, p.178.

largely responsible for the rivalry that existed between villages and townships as the State of Michigan grew to maturity.

After the War of 1812, much of the difficulty with the Indian and English was cleared up and the government was promoting the policy of offering land bounties to the veterans of the American Revolution and the War of 1812. At first, because of the large tracts of land that had to be bought whole, few could settle land without a great deal of wealth. By the 1820's, however, with pressure on government officials, a more liberal land policy developed and parcels of land could be bought as small as 80 acres at the price of \$1.25 an acre. This was still prohibitive for many settlers but it allowed for the first time larger numbers of people to come from the East and to buy land. It was during this period, of a more liberal land program, that the village of Mohawk was founded.

Mohawk, named after an Indian Chieftan who fought on the side of the British during the War of 1812 and who was supposed to have sold the cause of the British to the Pottawattamies, was founded in 1824. Few communities existed in Michigan at this time. "Only Detroit, Port Huron, Monroe, and a few other communities were scattered along the lake shores, when in the autumn of 1823 Musgrove Evenas, a member of the Society of Friends, of Jefferson County, N. Y., came to Michigan..."<sup>2</sup> Because of the lack of settlement in southern Michigan, trappers and hunters portaging between Lake Erie and Lake Michigan, as well as the westward

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2. This information along with much of the following data on history has been generalized from information supplied by an anonymous informant of "Mohawk". Documentation is in the hands of the writer and available on request.

migrants, were forced to commit themselves to a long and arduous trip from shore to shore. It was only a matter of time before communities would spring up along these trails.

In Monroe, there lived an aspiring politician by the name of John Austin. He had been working for the position of territorial representative and in 1823 ran against Father Richards of Detroit, only to lose. He attributed his defeat to the fact that the largest portion of eligible voters in Michigan were French Canadians and Catholics. He reasoned that if he could create interest in the East among Protestant settlers, his political future would be more assured. Jacob Stevens, a relative of Austin, largely influenced by Austin's enthusiasm, returned to the East in the winter of 1823 and arrived again the next spring with his wife, five children, and a party of thirteen others. While the rest remained in Detroit, Stevens and his brother-in-law, Joseph H. Black, surveyed an area where a stream, which is now known as Stevens Creek, reached its junction with the Plum River. After thoroughly exploring this country and studying the possibilities of water power, they were satisfied with the spot and walked to the Government land office at Monroe where they staked their claim. The village was built on the banks of the Plum River, in one of the natural clearings called "Oak Openings".

#### The Early Importance of Mohawk Within the County and State.

The rapid growth of Mohawk, after its original founding, can be attributed to the experience of both Stevens and Black in early explorations in the East, and to the fact that Stevens was an accomplished surveyor.



After the purchase of the land, Austin, Stevens and Black, became partners and petitioned Governor Cass of this new territory to have their proposed village named the County Seat of Justice. This had to be done with the proviso that four squares of land were to be set aside for public use and a bridge was to be built over the river.

The summer of 1824 was a busy one for the villagers, who besides the building and surveying, broke ground for two small fields of wheat and planted the seeds which they had brought with them. A dam was constructed across the river and in the Fall, a sawmill was built which supplied the first industry and, for a time, the only lumber for this part of the country.

In 1826, Jacob Stevens was appointed by the Government to make surveys of the United States Military road from Detroit to Chicago. (This was at a time when the Government had temporarily resolved the question of whether or not internal improvements were constitutional from a strict interpretive sense, as had been argued by Jefferson and his followers.) This old military route is now known as US 112. Later in the same year, he surveyed another trail which ran from Monroe to a spot which met with 112 and is named Jackson Junction. This trail later became Route 50. It is interesting to note that within a few years of the founding of Mohawk, surveying was done for two major routes which were to make the village of Mohawk important to all travelers in this area.

It is apparent that the early settlers had in mind that the future of Mohawk could not alone be assured by water power but that some locational aspects were necessary. According to Charles Horton Cooley, the following explanation for one source of population growth is given.

"Population and wealth tend to collect wherever there is a break in transportation. By a break is meant an interruption of the movement at least sufficient to cause a transfer of goods and other temporary storage. If this physical interruption of the movement is all that takes place we have what may be called a mechanical break; but if, on account of the close relations between transportation and exchange already pointed out, the physical interruption causes a change in the ownership of the transported goods, we have a commercial break.

It will at once be obvious that a break of the first sort is of much less importance than one of the second."<sup>3</sup>

It was unfortunate for those of Mohawk that, although their founders were aware of this importance, they did not see as rapidly as their neighbors in Augusta that the railroad would play an important part in overland travel and in many cases completely monopolize the westward migration.

Also, in 1826, one of the most important activities in Mohawk was the erection of the first grist mill by Austin, Black and Stevens. This was situated not far from the sawmill. It was an occasion long remembered by the residents of Mohawk and resulted in a great celebration on the 4th of July of that year. General Black brought all of the machinery for the mill into adjustment, the first bran was put into the hopper, and the power turned on. It was in the Panic of 1837 that this grist mill transferred into other hands; several times afterwards ownership changed but in 1858, William Brahms purchased the property at a Sheriff's sale and since this time Mohawk's oldest industry has been in the hands of the Brahms family. The mill constructed in 1826 was able to grind about 10 bushels of wheat per hour and for 5 or 6 years, was the only grist mill in the interior of the territory. People were said to have come from fifty miles or more to have their wheat ground at the Mohawk mill.

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3. Cooley, Charles Horton, Sociological Theory and Social Research, Henry Hold & Company, New York, 1930, p.75.

In 1825, the jail and the courthouse were built. First school was held in a log building as early as the winter of 1824 and 1825. The first high school was built in 1825 and in 1839 through 1842, a branch of the University of Michigan was established here and housed in what had been the County Court House.

#### Decline in the Importance of Mohawk

The year 1838 marked the beginning of a period which meant the decline of Mohawk in importance and growth. The County Seat was transferred from Mohawk to Augusta. The census of 1837 showed that Mohawk had a population of 2,462 while that of Augusta (at that time Logan Township) was 1,962. There was no apparent reason for the transfer from the standpoint of geographical position<sup>4</sup> but the founders of Augusta in their zeal for progress had been more visionary than those of Mohawk. Augusta, only 12 miles from Mohawk, was founded shortly after the village and from the very beginning the two towns were rivals for the incoming population and fought to gain first place within the County in importance. In 1836 a railroad was built between Toledo and Augusta (Erie and Kalamazoo) and it gained the distinction of being the first steel highway west of the Alleghanys. With such transportation assured between Toledo and Augusta, the commercial future of the two towns was no longer in balance.

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4. Cooley, Charles Horton, op. cit., p.75. "Political forces may also determine the matter (of growth), a modern instance is the fact already noted, that in the western United States in regions where there is almost no diversity of surface, a considerable town often grows up at the County Seat simply because of the slight advantage due to the location there of public buildings."



It should be pointed out at this juncture that an important factor in the decline of Mohawk was related to the direction of the flow of commerce and migration. Although Detroit and Chicago travel was important, Mohawk had hinged its fate largely upon the importance of Monroe, which declined with the growth of Toledo, founded at a more advantageous part of the Lake Erie shore and also located at the mouth of a river.

The State Legislature passed the act that changed the political status of the two communities in 1838. There is a record<sup>5</sup> that during this episode a conversation took place between Jasper Headstock, father of Augusta's founder and General Black of Mohawk. The former inquired, "Does thee really think, Joseph, that thee has a better place at Mohawk for the county seat than we have in Augusta?" "No", said the General, "but we have a much better water power and will keep the county seat also if we can." The rivalry that existed in early times still continues today.

The census of 1840 showed Mohawk to have a population just short of 2500, half again as large as Chicago at that time. Mohawk had been founded in a natural area for western migration but as the westward migration declined, so did the importance of Mohawk. Mohawk continued as a rural trade center but many of the commercial enterprises centering around farm equipment transferred to Augusta and other larger cities that grew as a result of the Industrial Revolution.

The first newspaper was founded in Mohawk in 1884 by a Beriah Bettie from New York State. The paper, however, changed hands several times and in 1850 it was purchased and called the Mohawk Herald by James E. Jenkins.

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5. Anonymous Document, op. cit.

Table I - Population Change for the  
Village of "Mohawk"\*

1870	2039
1880	2111
1884	2352
1890	2310
1894	2210
1900	2400
1904	2525
1910	2332
1920	2432
1930	2456
1940	2921
1950	4020

\* State Census of Michigan.

The name of the paper has not changed since and is one of the oldest newspapers in the state.

Most of the founders of Mohawk and early settlers were Quakers from New York State and many of the settlers had experienced earlier migrations along the Atlantic Coast. It is a point of extreme pride among the inhabitants of Mohawk today that many can relate details and experiences which occurred and were witnessed by their ancestors. It is this feeling of pride which exists among the oldtimers of Mohawk that has formed a traditional background within the structure of today.

✓ No indices of measurement are more necessary to chart the decline of Mohawk in importance throughout the county, state, and nation than the population figures.<sup>6</sup> While other population centers grew, Mohawk stood still. Mohawk, however, did not share the fate of many a Michigan town; towns which were dependent upon an exhausted economy. It was a community which owed its existence to the rich farm land which surrounded it. With the development of new techniques in tilling the soil and the growth of large industrial centers, a few small industries, largely designed to meet the needs of the farmer, were started. It could not compete with large industrial areas, though, and remained small in size and significance throughout the state and nation.

✓  
From Agriculture to Industry

Pride had not disappeared with the decline of Mohawk. It was manifested by the community's desire to look upon the past with a certain

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6. See Chart on Census Figures.



nostalgia, closely akin to New England traditionalism. Mohawk had become a place where farmers retired after saving a modest sum of money to live on and be comfortable. With the retirement of these people, a larger population of old folks could be found but at the same time, small enterprises could grow around the needs of these people.

The great economic depression in 1930 dealt a death blow to most areas. The economy of Mohawk, based upon small business, could hardly withstand this long period of economic crisis. Four industries existed at that time. The Cyclone Fence Corporation, The Jeson Foundry, The Brewers Foundry, and Quaker Oats. Of the four, only Quaker Oats is still in Mohawk and it is a branch factory. The only other outside industry of the other three was the Cyclone Corporation. The Jeson Foundry and Brewer's Foundry were owned by local residents. Mohawk Products is now located where the Brewer Foundry used to stand and the Benson Foundry is found at the old Jeson location.

#### The Influence of Ford Motor Company

Even before the depression, the farmers around the village of Mohawk became increasingly aware of the pressure that was being brought upon them to sell their farms. Because of the prices offered many did, but those who held out found themselves being completely surrounded by the growing pattern that existed around them. The farms that had been bought up were being drastically changed. The barns were torn down, fences uprooted, and all livestock disappeared. Around farms where the owner would not sell, the bordering land was allowed to stand and finally weeds would start to creep onto the resisting farmer's land. Prices offered were more than fair according to informants and many of the older folks took the

money, deposited it in the bank and prepared to retire. Few seemed to know just who was behind these sales, although it was rumored that it had to do with real estate speculation. Then, the depression came and the banks failed.

When the depression came, it was evident that Henry Ford had found another town in which he wished to use his plan of decentralization. Ford had been interested in many of the small communities within Michigan. He felt that if he had his small parts manufactured in these areas, farmers could work in industry during the winter and slow months and could till the fields during the summer. This would take care of the labor supply by furnishing men who would not suffer from seasonal lay-offs which were a constant source of trouble between management and labor. His plan had become effective in many of the communities bordering the Mohawk area. The farms were managed by the Ford Company and were leased out to farmers. Modern machinery was provided but because of Ford's phobia against livestock, nothing was grown but crops. Ford also took over the building of schools wherever he could and established excellent health clinics for the people. The mark of a Ford town was usually a general store which was run by Ford and where those working for him were forced to trade. Difficulties would often arise because of Ford's idiosyncratic dislikes. According to one informant,

"A bad feature used to be when men who had been shoveling the roads clear of snow came in dead tired and tried to cash their checks in order to get a plug of chewing tobacco or cigarettes. They were refused because Ford disapproved of his employees spending their money on these things and forbade them from indulging in these weaknesses during working hours."

Mohawk, then, had partially become one of these towns. Some farmers had succeeded in resisting sale and other merchants were still in busi-

ness if they weathered the depression. Only one school was taken over by Ford. This was the Blackville School which is now taking care of the kindergarten group in town. An informant states,

"Ford was so taken by the little school that he wanted it renovated and yet not changed a bit from its original construction. He, therefore, had every brick taken away from the structure, cleaned individually, and put back in place with new mortar."

Ford was fascinated by the Episcopal Church in town, which has one of the oldest edifices and boasts of being the first Episcopal Church built west of the Alleghanies. He asked one of the congregation whether they still had the old-fashioned doors of the pews in storage (they had been dismantled). When told that this was the case, he offered to have them all put back up by his workmen in order to maintain its early features. When he was told that, "it's hard enough to get people through the front door without setting up new obstacles," Ford laughed and forgot the incident. He was successful though, in purchasing from the church, the old hand pump organ for his chapel in Greenfield Village. He replaced the old one with a new organ.

These incidents have been mentioned to show that Ford had a tremendous impact upon the town. He bought the old Brahms Mill and it was here that his small industry continued. Ford had a dominant influence in the town until his breakdown in the 1940's. When he died, much of his control disappeared. Farms were resold, the plant was sold to a button manufacturer, and the general store disappeared. The health clinic still exists but was never located in town and the Blackville School has been turned back to the town and is no longer financed by the company. The farms have become difficult to sell because, without fences and care, they have been crowded with weeds.

The town has not forgotten Ford, however, and in their present state of growth some of the "main-streeters" (merchants) often warn that "if we are not careful in planning for the next depression, we may have to contend with another general store." Nevertheless, the effect of Ford was not entirely negative. The people realize that they would have been in a "bad way" without his help. The advent of a new industry during the same time was destined to have a far more lasting effect upon the community. This new industrial development brought about change and accomodation in the existing system, the subject of this thesis. This industry will be described in the subsequent chapter.

The town of Mohawk today has one major and twelve minor industries. There is a modern hospital which has thirty-five beds and is the pride of the entire town. There are five elementary schools and one modern highschool in the community. There are eleven churches which range in membership from around five hundred to fifty. The town has many formal organizations which are active and demanding upon the time of townspeople. A further analysis of some selected aspects of community organization will follow in Chapters IV and V.

### Summary

The present chapter has been concerned with specific historical events which have occurred since the founding of the village of Mohawk until the emergence of the Mohawk Products Company in 1934. In viewing the old and new with reference to social structure, the events mentioned in this chapter are concrete occurrences through time that have displayed a continuing persistent social structure with certain internal changes.

The new force that entered the time sequence of change was to dominate the structure to a greater extent than had any other event in the past. The following are summaries of the events which display the major attributes of the social structure of Mohawk before the influence of the "new force" became evident.

1. The early founding of Mohawk and its historical significance in the State of Michigan have left a traditional pride among those who can trace their parentage back to the early days. This group of people are joined by those who can remember what the village was like twenty-five years ago. Those who maintain these sentiments of traditionalism are sometimes referred to as the "old-roots".
2. The loss of the County Seat to Augusta resulted in a decline of importance for the village and also created a lasting rivalry between the two communities. This phenomenon of rivalry between Mohawk and other communities was also conditioned by an early pattern of settlement in the Northwest Territory. Community pride exists even among those who have recently come to this town.
3. The Depression of the 1930's has left the community with a deep concern in future plans that will protect it in case of another such disaster.
4. A change in economy from Agriculture to Industry has been so decisive that the old way of life, though looked upon nostalgically, has been given up as impossible in a growing and complex world.
5. The part played by the Ford Motor Company in Mohawk has led many merchants to realize that they must become more independent in order to avoid any such future strangle hold that might come from failure in their businesses.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE FOUNDING OF MOHAWK PRODUCTS

This short chapter is included in order to describe the general sentiments displayed by both the old and new groups in the Mohawk community concerning the founding of Mohawk Products and its influence on the people of the community. It is at this stage historically that the old structure was confronted with a new and equally persistent system. The changes that took place and the structure of this new system will be presented in the chapter on Institutional Patterns.

Mohawk Products today is a large thriving industry, employing 2500 people and carrying a payroll of \$10,000,000 a year. Its growth has been rapid since 1942 when war contracts brought enlargement to the plant. When it was first founded conditions concerning the structure of the company were far different than today. It is the recollections of the people about the past that will concern us in this chapter.

At a time when it would have appeared that the Industrial Revolution had reached its zenith, an important invention for the American household, the electric refrigerator appeared. At first it was an expensive novelty and could hardly replace the stable and dependable iceman who could be at the door in short order if an ice card was displayed. Nevertheless, as further inventions progressively improved the refrigerator units, the iceman joined the horse and buggy as obsolete. It was during this period of improvement of the electric refrigerator that four men came to the village of Mohawk. They were Mr. Harold Jackson, Mr. Fred Johnson, Mr. M. C. Earls and Mr. Jorgensen. Mr. Jorgensen had come

from Denmark as a young man after receiving his education there and it was while he was in this country that he developed a formula for the compressor now in use at Mohawk. Mr. Jackson was a manufacturer in Merridale County where things were folding up during the depression. Mr. Fred Johnson, an engineer interested in refrigeration, came in contact with Mr. Jorgensen and Mr. Earls, who were financing Jorgensen's invention. He sold the idea to Mr. Jackson who was a production expert and an accomplished tool maker in his own right. The four men joined forces and chose Mohawk as the place for their business.

According to a wife of one of the executives of Mohawk Products:

"They came into town with about \$800 between them. The town itself was completely broke. They got to work and today the same men are wealthy and the town as a whole has prospered because of them."

This story, however, varies according the informant's position in the community. An old timer said:

"They had to practically pay Mr. Jackson's light bills to get him out of Merridale. When they came here they started production in the old Brewer Foundry which had collapsed because of the depression. The townsfolk welcomed them in, glad to have any kind of industry get started. Many of the town women went down and cooked meals for the factory help until the company got on its feet. What little money the villagers could part with, they loaned to the Products. As these people succeeded and their business flourished, they paid back every cent that they had borrowed from the town. The catch was that they allowed none of the townspeople to have stock in the new company. Few members of the town who gave them their start profited from this venture. Of course, the town did receive stimulation from their growth, and the merchants did get more business, but no huge prosperity, as measured by the men who are connected with this company, came to the people of Mohawk.

An old timer and factory worker of Mohawk Products said:

"We all worked together when they first came in. The church ladies furnished us with hot soup at lunch time and we worked long hours getting the factory set up. They didn't even have enough money to pay us at first. I think I have a record of my

old pay checks and I'd bet you would find that there were times that I'd get paid less than a dollar for twelve hours work. We have been treated all right since the company has grown up but of the thirty-eight men that made up the original workers in the factory, you will find that they are all still on the labor list. That is the one thing that's bothered many of us. When it came to giving a good job to somebody in the front office, they always hired someone from the outside who probably had a little pull. We don't care much for this group."

Many of those who first came in were urban people who were skilled technicians from various phases of industry. These people were indifferent to the experiences of the old timer. They held different cultural values, manifested by different types of recreation and an interest in a different economy. The following quotations from some of the townspeople today explain to some degree the general feeling about this cleavage and difference of interest. Those who came in after Mohawk Products was founded are called the "newcomers" and are identified by the older residents as well as themselves by this term. The others are the "old roots", a common expression used by everyone in the community.

Newcomer (middle-aged married woman):

"I think Mohawk is just fabulous. I want to write a book about it some day but don't tell anyone. When we first came here it reminded me of a frontier town and even today seems to be like one. There is so much opportunity for a young business man. (When asked about how easy it was to become part of the community, she added) There are plenty of groups one can belong to, in fact the town is really just full of clubs."

Newcomer (married woman):

"As you know the Mohawk Products is the big thing in this town. Back in the early thirties a machine shop in Merridale went bankrupt. Meanwhile the townspeople here in Mohawk had hardly enough to eat. Along came three men from this bankrupt company, who had about eight hundred dollars between them. The townspeople gave them an old barn and property tax free. The townswomen came in and fed the workers for several months. They set up a refrigerator compressor factory, which is typically American, as you can see. It has really brought prosperity to this town. There are five or six millionaires in town at the present time. Never-



✓theless, townspeople resent the Products. These are the old folks, who try to hang on to their traditions, and who resent the attention given to the newcomers. There is definitely a difference between those who came in with the Products, and the old residents. My husband is a CPA who came down here so often that I became irritated and we decided to come here and maintain residence. It's really a nice town, and there are great opportunities. It has one of the most highly organized societies I have ever seen. There are so many clubs that I couldn't list them all. The housing situation is very poor and property values are high. That's why the workers don't live here. There are about three thousand employed by the Products and only about four thousand here in town and, as a result, many of the workers are living outside the community. Personal competition is really something."

"Old roots" (Spinster):

"Things have changed quite a bit around this town. I can remember back when you could walk into the back of your home, hop on a horse, and ride for miles without running into anyone. When I saw a beautiful spot on some hill, and could say 'that's mine' even if I didn't own it. You might even cherish the idea of building a home on that very spot some day. Today if you are fortunate enough to see that spot someone has a home on it and it usually is an atrocity. Life is closing in more on us and it is nice to remember how things once were. (When asked about clubs and organizations she added) I used to belong to organizations but I don't bother any more. We used to meet for educational purposes but now people want to be entertained and just gossip. I don't have much time for that sort of thing. A lot of the new people make me feel sorry for them. They aren't used to all the wealth they have suddenly acquired and don't seem to know what to do with it or even the time that they have on their hands."

To understand the impact of the Mohawk Products Company upon the total structure of the village, it is necessary to note some of the basic aspects of living today. This will be done in the next chapters but to give a picture of the pattern of change that took place, it is significant to know something of the background of Harold Jackson, President of Mohawk Products, and a key leader in the community. Mr. Jackson in viewing the community said,

✓"Years ago business was for businessmen but today it is for the community. The community must operate similar to business and that is being constantly dissatisfied. By being dissatisfied

you can achieve progress. Without this dissatisfaction, you can never move forward. This philosophy of life, I received at a very early age from my mother. I wanted to be a doctor but had to give up high school and go to work because of the family financial condition. I started out in the automotive industry and eventually became a tool and die maker. I worked for General Motors, Packard and Ford. I worked at Ford Motor Company between the ages of 22 and 29 and I feel that this was the best period of my life for learning. It was during this time that I began to dream of going into business for myself..."

This man was not the only one of the newcomers to take an active interest in this community and today the head men of Mohawk Sales and Engineering (branch of Mohawk Products) are also actively interested in community development. Mr. Jorgensen is President of the Board of Education, while the other men who came in with Jackson have taken an active interest in civic affairs. Earls and Johnson are Board members of the Jackson Memorial Hospital of Mohawk. These men at the top do not appear to dominate the town but donate and help as they can with various projects that occur. Mr. Joseph Lewis, an old roots merchant exclaims, "this would be a one horse town without Mohawk Products."

The "Products" never followed the policy of Henry Ford by taking over through economic paternalism but has, through its own growth, served as an irritant for growth throughout the village. It will be noted throughout this thesis, that one of the basic facts of change since the 1930's has been rapid growth of industry and population. This has certainly been somewhat influenced by Jackson's belief in "dissatisfaction" and the belief in increased returns as manifested by the leading industrialists who have been in the community for the last 17 years.

#### Summary

The Mohawk Products Company brought prosperity to the town and a

large new population was added to the total community. Those who came in after the founding of this company have been referred to as "new-comers". They originally displayed a different set of sentiments and a concern for growth and increased wealth. Growth in terms of town size, increased commercial enterprises, renovation of the old main street, etc. have become watchwords of the Mohawk citizen, and present the fact of change which is the problem of this thesis.

## CHAPTER IV

### INSTITUTIONAL PATTERNS

Institutional patterns in the local structure of the Mohawk community were chosen for study because they appeared to be most important in the pilot reconnaissance of the town and afterwards through interviews in showing the conflict and accommodation between the old and new structures. Institutions will be used in the MacIver sense, i.e., that institutions are "established forms or conditions of procedure characteristic of group activity."<sup>1</sup> It has been difficult to analytically separate this chapter from the following one on associations but this difficulty is resolved, if viewed in the light of MacIver's analysis. He states:

"Sometimes a confusion arises between institution and association because the same term, in a different reference, may mean either one or the other. There is no difficulty in deciding, according to our definition,... If we are considering something as an organized group, it is an association; if as a form of procedure, it is an institution. Association denotes membership; institution denotes a mode or means of service."<sup>2</sup>

Even with this definition, concrete overlappings are observable but this condition in methodology is defended by Pareo as interpreted by Parson in The Structure of Social Action. The following quotation helps to clarify the point:

"On a second important point Pareto is more explicit - an experimental fact does not necessarily embody the totality of a concrete phenomenon. The theories of logico-experimental

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1. MacIver and Page, op. cit., p.15.

2. MacIver and Page, ibid, pp15-16.

science consist in statements of fact linked together by logical reasoning. But the facts involved in the formulation of a theory are arrived at by a process of analysis and are not necessarily complete descriptions of concrete phenomena. Indeed, Pareto states that 'it is impossible to know a concrete phenomenon in all its details'. It is no valid criticism of a theory that it does not suffice fully to explain a concrete phenomenon; on the contrary, it is a virtue. The facts embodied in a theory describe elements, or aspects or properties of concrete phenomena themselves."<sup>3</sup>

The institutional patterns or institutions which are analysed in this chapter are those governing economic, health, political, and educational behavior. They will be viewed in the light of social change and will show the persistency of old structural behavior as it is effected and redefined by the new.

It can be seen that at least two major institutions have not been included in this analysis; the family and the church. Although crucial to the understanding of any total structure, they have not been included in this thesis because they did not reflect, as did the other institutional procedure, the conflict and accomodation of the "old" and "new". It is not to be concluded from this statement that these institutions are of little importance in the process of change but, by the method of selection, they become less easy to observe with in the total community picture, as determined by the thesis problem.

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3. Parsons, Talcott, Structure of Social Action, Chapt. V, Vilfred Pareto, I; The Methodology and Main Analytical Scheme, p.183.

### Economy of Mohawk

The figures used in the following analysis of economic groupings are based upon tabulations made from the 1950 Mohawk Directory.<sup>4</sup> Because of the need for delimiting the geographical boundaries of this study to the village of Mohawk, the rural listings were not considered. The following categories were chosen because they reflect the economic activity within the community. In terms of persons employed, Industry and Small Commercial Enterprises make up 80.6% of the total within the village. Hence these two groups were considered to be the most significant categories of analysis within the total economic picture. Professionals who were not listed as employed by industry or small enterprise totaled 65 or 5.8% of all employee listings. Those employed outside the village made up 6% or 67 of the total. Civil Servants numbered 15 or 1%, while the residual group of 78 made up 6.5% of the total employed.

The Directory, from which data about employed persons were obtained, gives all listings by household and those actively employed within the household. It appeared to be significant that few households listed more than one person employed. Of a total of 1430 households, 1101 were listed as having at least one member employed and this member, with the addition of the twelve wives, makes up 77.9% of the total. Of the unemployed, 237 were listed as residents without occupations and 92 as retired. This group makes up the rest of the total household listings.

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4. Since Mohawk is a fictionalized name given to the town for the purpose of maintaining anonymity, the Directory will be referred to by the same title.

Table II - Occupations of Heads of Households in  
Mohawk, Michigan - 1950  
As Reported in the Directory

	No.	Pct.
Total Household Listings (Including 12 wives).....	<u>1142</u>	100.0%
Total of those Employed.....	1113	77.2%
Total of those listed as Residents but not Employed.....	237	16.5%
Total Women listed as Retired.....	31	
Total Men listed as Retired.....	22	
Total of Husband and Wife Retired.....	39	
Total Retired.....	92	06.3%

Table III - Categories of Those Gainfully Employed in  
Mohawk, Michigan - 1950  
As Reported in the Directory

	No.	Pct.
Industry.....	<u>637</u>	57.2%
Commercial Enterprises.....	251	22.6%
Miscellaneous Employed.....	78	07.0%
Those Employed Outside the Village.....	67	06.0%
Professionals.....	65	05.8%
Civil Servants.....	15	01.4%
Total.....	<u>1113</u>	<u>100.0%</u>





Industry - There are a total of thirteen industries in the town. They hire 2,942 people. (See Table IV for articles produced.) All of these workers do not live within the village but commute to work from areas around the county and outside of it. One firm, Mohawk Products, hires 2,500 of this total, or 87.9% of all those hired by industry. Only 22.4% of those employed by this industry are villagers. Out of the 342 employed by other industry, only 79 are villagers. The remainder come from surrounding areas. The fact that 79% of the people hired by industry come from outside the community becomes immediately observable.

The importance of Mohawk Products Company to the structure of the society or community as a whole cannot be assessed in numbers alone, but by the important part it plays in other aspects of community life as well. By the listings in the directory, 558 of Mohawk Products employees, executives, factory and office workers, employed live in the village. The Personnel Department of the "Products" list 837 as employees who live in Mohawk. Part of this difference can be explained by the discrepancies in the Directory, which in some cases does not list place of employment, and because of the rural and fringe area not being tabulated. For the purpose of consistency in tabulations from the Directory, the total of 558 will be used but it is interesting to note that even with the use of the other total, only one third of the Mohawk Products employees are hired from within the town limits.

Mohawk Products, manufactures refrigerator compressors, which has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, but an interesting and unique aspect of its early organization is to be found in the sales and research area of the industry. Johnson, Jorgensen and Earls are the sales and research executives, while Jackson heads the manufacturing. It was decided

Table IV - Name of Industry, Number of Employees, and Articles Produced in Mohawk Factories, 1950\*

Industry	Number of Employees	Articles Produced
Mohawk Products Co.	2500	Refrigeration Units and Compressors.
Benson Foundry & Mfg. Co.	100	Grey Iron and Semi-Steel Castings, Electric Annealing and Heat Treating.
Quaker Oats Co.	60	Macaroni, Spaghetti, and Noodles.
Ottawa Machine Products	45	Machine Parts and Subcontracting.
Meyers Aircraft	30	Aircraft Parts, Industrial Sheet Metal, and Welding.
Brahms Flour Mills	25	Wheat Flour Milling and Feed Processing.
Comstock Brick & Tile Co.	20	Clay Drain Tile, Brick, and Building Blocks.
Mohawk Sash & Door Co.	20	Sash and Door and Plywood Boxes.
Admiral Corporation	12	Refrigeration Unit Systems.
R & S Mfg. Co.	10	Assemblies and Subcontracting.
George Adams Manufacturers	10	Precision Instruments.
G & J Wood Products	6	Pallets and Cratings.
Mohawk Woodworking Co.	4	Pallet and Casting Manufacturers.

\*From the Mohawk Directory, 1950.

that it would be advantageous for research and sales to separate from manufacturing and work independently from each other. As a result, today, Mohawk Refrigerator Sales and Engineering Company is a separate Corporation. The two are to be found in the same building and work hand in hand together. There is no observable cleavage between the employees of the two companies, but only about 100 people are employed by Mohawk "Sales" and this is included in the total of the 2,500 just mentioned. The people in Mohawk "Sales", for the most part, are white collar workers; clerks in the office, salesmen or engineers. All the factory help is employed by the "Products". The only difference between the two "companies" is one of organization and occupation.

The growth of the "Products" itself parallels the growth of the town. In 1940 the census figures gave the town a total of 2,921, in 1950 the total was 4,020 and today, with the expansion of corporate boundaries, there is an estimate of 5,000. (See Table I.) It is evident from the other occupational opportunities offered in Mohawk that this large growth is due to the "Products", which now has a payroll of \$10,000,000. annually.

Of the 1113 people listed in the Directory as employed, 50% work at the "Products". In 1940, the "Products" had only two to three hundred employees. Today it has, as already mentioned, a total of 2500. This large growth in employment was stimulated by war contracts and reconversion which continued during the post-war years. Today, the manager hopes to increase his payroll to three times as large as it is today.

All of the factory workers in Mohawk Products are members of the Company Union. When a worker is hired, he is put on a thirty days pro-

bationary period, during which time he is not a member of the Union and it is observed by management to see if he is a reliable employee. At the end of this time if he is considered to be good material for employment, he must become a member of the Union. From this time on any layoffs are Union and Management problems. The workers are satisfied with the Union. They claim higher basic rates and a chance for larger pay on a piece rate basis. There have been no increases in the basic rates for the last five years. The workers feel it would be unwise to affiliate with CIO because of the danger of becoming involved in sympathy strikes and the fact that they would have to settle with a lower base level of wages. The hospital plan sponsored by the company has also influenced their feeling. All hospitalization at the Jackson Memorial Hospital is provided for families of employees. This expense does not come out of the employees paycheck in insurance but is part of a Care program that has been carried on since the founding of this corporation. Mohawk "Sales" employees receive the same benefits.

Commercial Enterprises - After industry, the next important category of employment in Mohawk is the small private enterprise made up of merchants and those they employ. The total listing of commercial enterprises found in the Directory is 153. Of these 153 enterprises, there are 251 people employed from the village, making the average number employed per enterprise to be 1.6. The range of variation in employment for each enterprise is 0 to 6. It should be remembered that this group includes only those who live in Mohawk. A total of eight enterprises do not employ any Mohawk people.

Those in small enterprises, for the most part, are the "old roots"; their businesses have either been handed down from father to son or their

parents have been merchants or farmers before them. Many do not care to indulge in any great speculation in order to increase their business and, as a result, they are content to leave their stores much as they were years ago. This group of "Main Streeters", as some of the "New-comers" call them, make up 22.6% of the employed group of Mohawk. Many of them are respected leaders in their community.

Miscellaneous Employed - The next category is a residual group of miscellaneous workers, who are not listed under any specific corporation or enterprise. Some, of course, are in reality professionals but by the nature of the Directory, it is impossible to ascertain whether or not they are employed or are privately participating in these economic activities.

Those Employed Outside the Village - A small number from Mohawk are employed in other towns. For the most part, these people are employed by industrial plants and are factory workers. The largest group employed away from the village commute to the town of Middleburg, which is only 4 miles away and has a few small industries. Out of a total of 6%, 23 are employed in the Middleburg Machine Shop.

Professionals & Civil Servants - The category of professionals, used in this analysis, is smaller than is actually the case but, in order to give an accurate picture of industrial impact in Mohawk, all professionals employed in industry are excluded from this present group. The four largest professional groupings are listed with their numbers:

Teachers.....	21
Registered Nurses.....	9
Ministers.....	8
Physicians.....	5
Other.....	<u>22</u>
Total.....	65

The civil servants are those employed by the post office, numbering six, and the others who are listed as police or town clerks, 19 in number, making up a total of 25.

#### ✓ Summary

The two most significant aspects of the economic pattern in Mohawk are to be found in the categories of Industry and Commercial Enterprise. These two groupings play an important part in the ordering of society within the community and tend to draw a distinction between the "old roots" and the "newcomers". This distinction results from the introduction of a new population into the village in the 1930's. Those affiliated with Mohawk Products are still to be distinguished as new elements to the structure of a village that existed for over a hundred years without any large industry.

It will be seen, though, in the following descriptions of institutions that this distinction is in the process of change and the mark of difference that has existed in the past is slowly disappearing. The members of this new industry are becoming active citizens in the community and the town depends more and more upon the existence of this important business.

The merchant and small town business man is now under pressure with an increased population and more economic opportunities, to expand his business and take certain calculated risks for future prosperity. This way of life is somewhat new to the merchant of Mohawk and has necessitated a certain change in ideals and sentiments that he has displayed in the past. To provide an impetus to this change, there is the constant reminder of the last depression and also the control of the town for a while by the Ford Motor Company. The later possibility, inreference to Mohawk Products, is probably not as remote in the minds of the merchants as they might indicate in conversation.

The entrance of Mohawk Products into the community was not the reason for the change in economy but was instead a manifestation of a growing way of life, characterized throughout the United States in rapid industrialization. Trends toward industry had been indicated before 1934 within the village, but they were small in comparison to the eventual growth in manufacturing from that date on.

#### Health in Mohawk

Some attempt will be made at this time to describe health as an institution of normative procedures within the village.

Sewage Disposal - In the "Health Needs and Health Care" study,<sup>4</sup> it was found that 18% of those sampled indicated that they considered the community to have a major health problem. Eight per cent of this group mentioned sewage disposal as the major problem. This study was made in 1949

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4. Hoffer, Charles R. and Clarence Jane, Health Needs and Health Care in Two Selected Communities, Special Bulletin, Michigan Agr. Exp. Station, East Lansing, Michigan.

and shortly afterwards a crisis developed which forced the village to take action.

"Mohawk was ordered to build the sewage treatment plant several years ago by the Michigan Stream Control Commission. The state charged that the dumping of raw sewage into the River Plum here was polluting the stream. About six months ago the state threatened to take the village into court and force immediate construction unless some steps were taken to carry out the Commission's order."<sup>5</sup>

The village council, after an election, floated a bond issue of \$256,000 and contractors are now (1952) bidding on the cost. It is expected that if building material is available the plant will be built by 1953. The total plan also includes the laying of the pipeline into areas of the village not covered by sewage disposal at this time. It would appear that a large health project within the town has been chiefly motivated and controlled by governmental force.

School Health - Around the school there is a planned program of health.

"The report released from the office of the superintendent, says: There is perhaps no specific pattern for a school-health program. What serves the needs of one community falls flat on its face in another. But basically all programs include three phases. They are planning, health education, and health service."<sup>6</sup>

A group of people, mostly mothers of school children, met three times in 1951-52 to discuss the matter of health problems. The group decided that there were two basic needs at the present time in health. These needs were better dental hygiene, and adequate education to develop the right attitudes toward sex.

"As a result, Ruth Rogers, State Dental Consultant, met with two local groups. Two films were shown and discussed at com-

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5. Mohawk Herald, July 3, 1951.

6. Ibid, June 7, 1951



munity meetings. "Human Beginnings" was presented at a meeting of the West Branch Mothers' meeting and to a Mothers' group in the hospital. "Human Reproduction" was seen at a PTA meeting. In school some of the grades had unique projects aimed at producing better health attitudes and habits. They stressed nutrition and dental hygiene."<sup>7</sup>

Another health service planned around school-health was vision testing of all school children. Of the 550 elementary children tested last fall, 47 failed. Forty of these, a short time later, were examined by an oculist or optician. Local organizations helped finance seven of these cases, while the rest were already under supervision by a private doctor. In high school, 465 children took the test and 41 failed. Half of these reported later that they had seen the doctor about their problem.

Along with the school-health program, the Jackson Memorial Hospital provides a school nurse for part of the week. This woman functions as a community nurse from the hospital during the rest of the time. She works with specific problems concerning school children and cooperates with the family's doctor. She has arranged for appointments at the University Hospital clinics, the Crippled Children's Clinic, Huron Valley Child Guidance Center, and with eye and ear specialists. There has been considerable controversy over the function of this nurse within the community. An important cause for this controversy is related to the function of the County Health Department within the area.

Public Health relies upon a tightly knit federated program which is based upon regulations and directives from the State and National level. Independent local health units are considered inadvisable because, accord-

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7. Ibid.

ing to a State Health Department nurse,

"They tend to compete against each other. They overlap with us in various functions. The maximum efficiency of such units is limited because of their boundaries. If they represent a wealthy community, it is impossible to utilize their expenditures for less fortunate neighboring areas."

This reason forces them to hold that school nurses and community nurses should be hired by and work through the Health Department.

Mohawk had felt for a long time that it needed a community and school nurse. The staff of the health unit in the county was still small and not satisfactory for full coverage within the community. As a result, the hospital and school system hired a community and school nurse and created a cleavage between the county and community health units. There are some citizens in the community who have considered this to be a great error. They point out that the community nurse does not have the authority behind her that a county nurse would have nor a large system of state-wide resources to tap for information and possible assistance. Others claim that they cannot wait forever to have the health department grow large enough to meet their needs and, no matter how efficient a program was, there would still be problems that couldn't be handled. Rumors exist, though, claiming that the nurse who is presently employed will not be reinstated for another year when her original period of employment ends.

The Hospital - The Mohawk Hospital, recently named the Jackson Memorial Hospital, represents one of the largest areas of impact upon the institutional norms of health in the village. The people of Mohawk are quite proud and aware of this modern and well-equipped hospital. Plans were made through a group of Mohawk citizens in the fall of 1937 for the

erection of a hospital and in 1938 it was built and dedicated. According to Mr. Jackson, President of Mohawk Products,

"We had needed a hospital in town for quite a while. I had a program of health care going on in the plant. It wasn't insurance and the employees didn't have to pay a thing but when any member of the family got sick or there was a baby born, we paid the hospital bill. The men seemed to be having trouble and there were a lot of babies born. Patients had to be sent to Augusta and I was paying the bills to their hospital. I got to thinking that we might as well have a hospital in Mohawk. I hadn't forgotten that I was poor at one time. I called together forty-two leading citizens and said, 'How would you like to have a hospital?' The 'Products' donated fifty per cent\* of the total cost and the village and citizens collected the rest. I helped to run it until the war, when things got so busy here that I couldn't give it my time. I used to go down every Sunday morning after it was built and shake hands with the patients and ask them how they were feeling and if they were satisfied with the hospital."

Although slightly different as to the version, many of the citizens tell a similar story about the building of the hospital. The older ones often refer to it as "Dr. Campbell's Hospital" because it was Dr. Campbell who for many years had said that the town needed such a health center. Undoubtedly many had wanted one but final agreement as to how it was possible still centered around Harold Jackson and Mohawk Products. In 1941, because of increase of needs, a Bond Issue was floated by the village for \$25,000 and a new addition was built.

In 1951, Mr. Jackson donated \$81,000 for a new addition to the hospital. At the time of donation, Jackson,

"...traced the history of the hospital since it was first 'dreamed about' and since it has operated to the benefit of Mohawk and the surrounding areas. 'In thinking about it', he said, 'I like to recall it as a book, page by page and chapter by chapter. I remember that when we first talked about it we were told that it couldn't be done, that it would not be successful, that its operation would be prohibitive in cost. Today, some of the folk who 13 years ago opposed its construction, tell me that they wonder how we got along without a hospital before we had one.'"<sup>6</sup>

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\* Total sum collected, \$75,000.

8. Mohawk Herald, May 29, 1951.

Mr. Jackson had ample reason for this remark, since the man that accepted the check for the money the night he made this speech, was one of the opponents to a village hospital. Shortly after it was built, this man was working in his cleaning establishment and it blew up. He suffered severe burns and was in a critical condition. Having been rushed to the hospital in time, his eyesight was saved. Jackson visited him in the hospital shortly afterwards and said, "I hope you're satisfied you old s--- o- b----, and remember you're one of our first patients." The patient just mentioned is now President of the hospital board.

The five doctors of Mohawk represent the medical staff of the hospital. Following is an account of medical service to the community up to 1947.

Table V - Services of the Jackson Memorial Hospital  
to the Community by Years<sup>9</sup>

	('38-'39)	('41)	('47)
Births	88	206	394
Patients cared for	511	1021	3031
Days of nursing care	5689	11090	14713
Cash services rendered	\$21,598.32	\$47,968.71	\$98,836.92
Salaries	\$ 9,633.55	\$21,107.63	\$45,070.92

The hospital now has a total of 38 beds, a modern up-to-date operating room, research laboratory, and a full X-ray department with the exception of deep X-ray treatment. It operates on a small margin of profit and is self-sustaining. This is due partly to the large hospital bills paid by Mohawk Products through the Care Program. Jackson estimated his hospital

bill to be \$125,000 this year. He said that he imagines that 75% of the hospital bills are paid through the Company.

During the time the hospital was put into operation, the village established a "petty cash" fund of \$2,000. This is all of the tax money that has been used to build and operate the hospital. To date the physical property is valued at an amount between \$300,000 and \$400,000.

"The Mohawk Hospital is a member of the American and Michigan Hospital Association, a member of the American Medical Association Register, has provisional approval by the American College of Surgeons, is a member of the Greater Detroit Hospital Council, a participant in the Michigan Hospital Service, participant in the Emergency Maternal and Infant Care Program which includes the approval of the Michigan Department of Health and the United States Children's Bureau, has approval of the United States Public Health Service and the Michigan Board of Registration of Nurses for a senior student nurse affiliation of three months in rural hospital nursing. Mohawk Hospital has cooperated with the Mohawk High School in a program of Community Health Service. These students observed the various functions of the hospital, and assisted with certain selected activities."<sup>10</sup>

Since April of 1944, student nurses have been sent from Henry Ford Hospital, Grace Hospital, and St. Mary's Hospital in Detroit and University of Michigan Hospital, Ann Arbor for a "three-months affiliation in rural hospital nursing".

The hospital has a staff of Red Cross Volunteer Nurses Aides. The first class of Nurses Aides was organized in 1942, during the war years. During this period, they gave 11,310 hours of their time without pay. Three aides gave over 500 hours. This group was represented by many citizens of the community; "old-roots"; "newcomers"; upper strata and lower strata. The feeling resulting from this cooperative effort existed in the community even after the war. People are still talking

about what a "regular person" Mrs. Fred Johnson (wife of executive of Mohawk Sales) was during these times and how she took on all the hard jobs. One woman, a laborer's wife, said, "All of us girls admitted that if we had her money, we wouldn't have been doing the things she was doing. She really is a wonderful person."

The Hospital Auxiliary, founded in 1941, is a group of women organized for the purpose of helping the hospital through financial aid and activities which are oriented to problems confronted by the health center.

Jackson has mentioned that he hopes to eventually add a complete ward on to the present building for maternity cases alone. "If I do this," he said, "we'll have the largest hospital in the County; even larger than the one in Augusta." He believes it will be necessary to continue building along with the growth of the town, which he believes is a certainty.<sup>11</sup>

The Mohawk Hospital appears to be the center around which the pattern of health programs revolve in the community. Although largely possible because of Mohawk Products, it has been a locus of group action and has involved many members of the community around health projects, or made them increasingly aware of health problems through individual contacts with the hospital as patients.

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11. At the time this thesis was being written, a new donation from an anonymous citizen occurred. The amount came to \$250,000. With such a gift, the hospital could grow to such an extent that it might easily meet the expectations of Mr. Jackson and many other citizens who hope to make it the best health center in southern Michigan.

✓  
Summary

The activities centered around health have been integrative in bringing newcomers and old-roots together. Today, with each member of the community viewing the hospital as his own, there has been a strengthening of the old community pride. This, although strengthening to the persistency of the community structure, acts as a block to any structural unity within the programs of health beyond the community.

Old timers who once opposed the hospital are now active in its support, while newcomers equate the growth of this center with the present and future growth of the community. Government action and citizen support made possible the second addition to the hospital and so gave a larger stake of involvement to the community.

It is also evident that no matter how integrative a factor the hospital has been, it was the original stimulation given to the community by Mohawk Products that made it possible. A historical event which occurred, then, in 1934 has provided tremendous structural changes and these changes are still in the process of occurrence.

Government in Mohawk

✓  
 Mohawk has a village type government or council. It is made up, primarily, of "old-roots" people. The entire group is found within the economic categories of commercial enterprise, professionals or civil servants. It is felt by many of the "newcomers" that this form of government is impossible with the rapidly growing conditions, both in population and industry. Mr. Harold Jackson said:

"What we really need in town today is a city form of government if we are to grow to the size that is necessary. We need a city manager who will get things moving in this town. The town will have to grow with industry."

Reverend Hansen, the Baptist Minister, an active civil leader, said:

"If you come back to this village ten years from now, you are going to find things considerably different. Not just in size but also in the way the town is run. At the present time things are rather informal. If I want the street fixed outside the church, I walk down and ask the President of the Village to do something about it and something will be done. As the town gets larger, this type of action is impossible and the only way to handle it will be a more efficient and complex type of government. It will be less informal but it will be necessary."

Mr. Joseph Lewis, an "old-roots" merchant, said:

"We need a city type government. That is what the Chamber of Commerce was originally set up for, and is the reason that it hasn't done so well. What keeps us from getting it are these retired farmers who just would like to see things stay as they are. A lot of the merchants don't have the ambition they used to have in the past. Those opposed fear increased taxation."

Government, then, is in a stage of change in the community. Whether or not it becomes what many of the newcomers and some of the merchants hope for will have to be determined by the future. Evidence that the merchants are becoming aware of the need for change is shown by a recent program held by the Rotary Club.<sup>12</sup>

The advantages of an alert Chamber of Commerce and a community operated under city form of government were discussed by two speakers at the regular dinner meeting of the Rotary Club, Tuesday evening, at the Country Club. The program was provided by the Rev. Hansen and the speakers were Jim Morton of Flint, and Jack Simons of Fenton...Mr. Simons, city manager at Fenton, discussed the advantages of changing local government from village to city form. He pointed out that Mohawk is now operating under a State-granted charter, first approved in 1859 and last amended in 1896. Times have changed in the last 56 years, he said, and it is now difficult and clumsy to function efficiently under laws more than half a century old.

The recent resignation of the executive secretary of the Chamber of Commerce has been a manifestation of the feeling held by the merchants and industry that some basic change in government and "Main Street" is

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12. Mohawk Herald, January 24, 1952.



needed. As has been mentioned, the usual comment is, "we can't get things done because of these retired farmers and backward merchants", but often those making the statement are representative of the group they are talking about. If questioned on this point, they would readily admit that these people were their friends but that they as individuals were the more progressive element of this "backward" group. One of the basic causes for lack of change is the fact that each one wants change but feels that it hasn't come about because of the rest. Mr. Lewis, who claims to be all for change and progress, owns the garage in town which faces main street. It is hardly any different in appearance than the shops of his neighbors. He is now actively interested in changing the form of government, however, and perhaps measures as a point in between those seeking change and those opposing it. With growing verbalization on the part of the merchants, that change in government is necessary, it is very likely that in the near future Mohawk will become a city with a city manager.

#### Education in Mohawk

The village schools fall into District Number Seven, or "The Mohawk Village District", of Mohawk Township. There are now five school buildings which serve for both elementary and secondary students in Mohawk. These are the East Branch School, Blackville School, West Branch School, Central School, and the High School. President of the Board of Education is Mr. Jorgensen, executive in Mohawk Sales.

The High School was built in 1949 at a cost of \$500,000. When the election for a Bond Issue came up for the first time in 1949, it was

voted down. Harold Jackson had donated \$140,000 to be added to whatever the community could raise. When he heard of the lost election, he tried to find out who was the head of the opposition. Finding who it was, he went to his home. According to Mr. Jackson:

"I went there and explained what the school meant to the community and why I wanted it to go through and after talking a while, this fellow said, 'Well, Harold, I wasn't for it before and I'm not for it now but even though I won't vote for it if it comes up for election again, I won't work against it.'"

The election came up shortly afterwards and the Bond Issue was voted in.

Conditions have become so crowded in Mohawk, due to the enormous growth in population during the last decade, that a new school building program is being discussed. Faced with the problem that unless \$750,000 is raised for a building program, the children will have to be housed in the churches and the old railroad depot, the leaders of the community at this time are taking action.

The Mohawk Herald voiced its opinion by saying:

"Education, today, costs too much money to offer it in a makeshift manner. Proper training, without the proper tools, cannot be given. Mohawk, it seems, is paying the penalty for growth, if growth is to be penalized. In the period between 1940 and 1950 Mohawk made the most rapid growth of any community in the county according to the U.S. Census. Mohawk is still growing and probably will continue to grow in the future."<sup>13</sup>

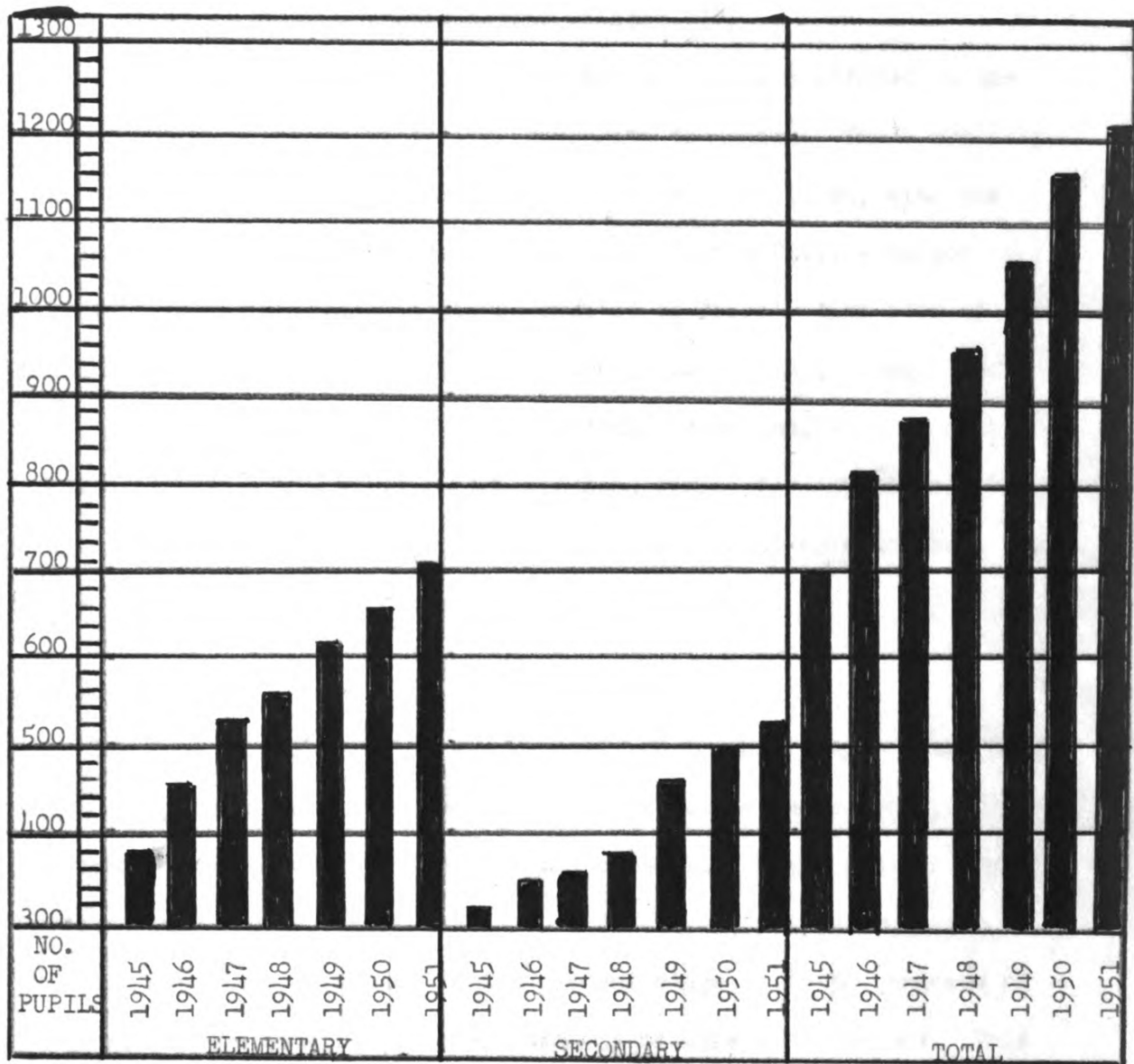
Mohawk has truly felt the increase in population as is illustrated by the following graphs. With the increase of population in the lower age grades, the future presents a real problem to the village and educators.

"What is the picture for the future? It is far, far more critical than it was between the years of 1945 and 1951, when the new High School building program became necessary. Today there are 132 children enrolled in the kindergarten of the Public Schools

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13. Mohawk Herald, November 20, 1951.

FIGURE I - ENROLLMENT INCREASES  
IN MOHAWK - 1945-1951\*



\* Mohawk Herald, November 20, 1951.

of Mohawk. This number is expected to exceed 150 in 1952. If the birth rate and the steady growth of Mohawk continues in the next five years as it has in the last five years, the 1957 enrollment should be far greater."<sup>14</sup>

A proposal to handle part of the problem has been offered in the form of annexing School District Number Five to Mohawk. There are only four districts in Mohawk Township today and two are closed, with the children coming to the village. By annexing Number Five, a closed district, another building could be erected to largely take care of the children of this district, whose numbers have been growing.

No set plan has been agreed upon at this time and, as yet, such a building program is still in the proposed stage, forming one of the projects for further community action. Nothing has been said about the increase in faculty, which now numbers forty-four.

### Summary

The four institutional patterns analyzed in this chapter have overlapping implications and in concrete reality become inseparable, but in the study of such procedures within the community, basic factors concerning structure become observable.

The structure of Mohawk in its present stage is in the process of integration, the integration of an old way of life with the new. This process of change has been going on for the last seventeen years but at the present time the results of such a process are most observable.

In the economic picture, industry and small business still stand as separate entities within the total structure. Although each carries within its own separate system attitudes reminiscent of the past, there has been an outward attempt for the two systems to accommodate to each other in the total structure. Dominance because of the large condition of

wealth is on the side of industry but in order for industry to dominate the total economic structure, it is necessary for it to be accepted in most stages of social living or within many normative institutional patterns. Such a situation is observable in the institutions of health, government, and education.

It has been mentioned that in patterns of health, hospital activities are most significant. This significance is measured mostly by the amount of the total structure that is affected by it. The hospital and activities resulting from it have brought to Mohawk another reason for community pride which can be shared by all segments of the total society. Since, the entire town has had a part in its growth, it allows a common symbol of unity for both "newcomers" and "old-roots" who can speak of it as "our hospital". Elements of the old structure remain, however, and are displayed by statements, such as this is "Dr. Campbell's Hospital" or the fact that it has been called "The Jackson Memorial Hospital".

The institution of Government best displays the remaining vestiges of the past structure and more clearly defines a struggle of power that has continued between old and new. The willingness of both sides to meet together as a group and the efforts of most leading citizens to discuss openly the need for a new type of government reveals a converging set of interests on the part of many. The demand for change in government is still a forced condition brought about by the agitation of Mohawk Products Executives who wish to have the village grow with the company. The reluctance to expand and change within the town as a whole is expressed by the older group in terms of caution and security, along with the reality of the existing capital a small merchant has on hand for such speculation.

Education appears to be a more immediate problem in terms of action and as an institution the norms or institutionalized patterns are more similar for both groups of old and new. Public Education evokes common symbols and sentiments since it played such an important part in forming the "American Way of Life". Parents of children seem to be aware and concerned in future planning and growth of the schools. In observing Mohawk, the investigator was unable to find any indications of discontent in curricula and the general content of teaching.

The preceding institutions best display the slow process of change in terms of years and indicate that many of the institutional norms are far from standardized at the present time and as such are complexes of norms which in the process of change are slowly converging towards a common cultural configuration. The next chapter will describe some associational patterns of Mohawk life which are playing an important part in this process of convergence.

## CHAPTER V

### ASSOCIATIONS IN MOHAWK

The following chapter will be concerned with some of the active associations in Mohawk. This chapter will be concerned with the formal organizations of the community which display membership around common sets of interest. Associations as defined by MacIver, "are means or agencies through which their members seek to realize their similar or shared interests. Such social organizations necessarily act, not merely through leaders but through officials or representatives, as agencies."<sup>1</sup> The preceding chapter has described a selected number of institutional patterns which demonstrate a continuing process of the old way of life and how it has accommodated to or conflicted with the new way of life in the village of Mohawk. Interests of organizations or associations in this chapter are displayed by stated objectives and by programs that they carry out. Certain integrative factors in respect to overlapping projects as well as objectives occur but this duplication or cooperation illustrates to some degree the integrative nature of association in the community structure. Membership illustrates to a great extent the function of associations in a community and how this function is tending to bring together both the old and new structures.

#### Chamber of Commerce

The Chamber of Commerce was organized in 1948. Its membership is made up of those in the Rotary and Exchange Clubs. Its chief purpose is

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1. MacIver & Page, Society, Rinehart & Co., Inc., New York, 1949, p.10

to "build Mohawk and put it on the map". Because of the combined membership from the other two service clubs, many community projects could be listed as projects of the Chamber of Commerce. However, only the projects that are recognized as distinctly belonging to this group will be mentioned in this treatise.

Since its founding, the Chamber of Commerce has taken part in the Halloween and Christmas parties for the children of the community.

Its major efforts have been concerned with the Carnival that has been held annually for the last three years. The idea of holding such an affair is credited to the Executive Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce. Once a year, the town of Mohawk, Ontario, which is located about ten miles east of Windsor, is invited to visit Mohawk, Michigan as guests of the town during the Carnival period, which lasts five days. During this time, festivities are held and programs put on for the amusement of all. It is hoped by the Chamber of Commerce that this will stimulate business and draw people from around the area. The first two years were bad ones financially but during the last carnival, the Chamber of Commerce broke even. In 1949, the 125th anniversary of Mohawk was celebrated and it was on this occasion that the Carnival was established as a yearly festivity.

✓ The Chamber of Commerce represents the interests of the "main-streeters" and "Products" men in the economic world of Mohawk. As an association, it has provided an integrative tie between the old and new. As their objectives have become mutual, the difference between the two groups has diminished. The integrative process is far from complete, however, and is best illustrated by recent events concerning the Chamber of Commerce.

The Executive Secretary was the only paid official in the Chamber of Commerce and his job was a full time one. His salary was paid both by the merchants and Mohawk Products. Mr. Jackson, during the last year, has become increasingly irritated with the lack of progress shown by the town. "When I came here," he said, "this was a typical small American



town. It had three Doctors and three drug stores. The stores were all old and run down. Today there are only five doctors, the same number of drugstores, and mainstreet has hardly changed. The one new hardware store has been put up because the old one burned down. I have to needle this whole darned town."

It was this attitude that led him to believe that the Chamber of Commerce wasn't functioning as it should and he withdrew the company's financial support. The merchants, unable to finance the Chamber of Commerce alone, dropped their support as well and the Executive Secretary was forced to resign. He later received a position in the Mohawk Products Company, which was to indicate that there were no serious feelings between him and the Company. It is the belief of the "Products" people and some of the merchants that the only solution to the problem is a city government with a hired city manager who would take over the function of an Executive Secretary in the Chamber of Commerce. Although providing an integrative force, the Chamber of Commerce still reflects the struggle that exists between the old and new.

### Rotary Club

The Rotary Club was organized in 1929 for the purpose of brotherhood and the improvement of business relations in the community. It is made up of a higher stratified group than the Exchange Club, which is mainly composed of less prosperous or younger members.<sup>2</sup> Many of the old

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2. Stratification as used in this chapter will relate to class structure as it is displayed by the consciousness of those interviewed. No analysis has been made of class structure, per se, but the conscious reflection on the part of certain informants that there is a higher or lower ordering of people within the society to which they belong, lends insight into the formation of the changing structure of the community. Warner in Vol I of the Yankee City Series (Warner, Lloyd W. and Paul S. Hunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949,

and respected family names are to be found on the roster of this organization. Also, there are to be found many Mohawk Products executives active in the Rotary Club. The following are some of its projects:

It has sponsored twelve meetings for the purpose of stimulating growth in government and business in order to keep up with the rapid growth of the town.

The Athletic field in town had been a source of trouble and was being held in trust because there appeared to be no way to handle its upkeep. Rotary got action for the support of the field and today, the town supports 40% of the upkeep, while the school handles another 40% and the town carries the last 20% of the load.

The group also helps the American Legion send a boy to Boy's State each year by covering the cost of the trip. It also sends two boys to the Future Farmers of America convention in St. Louis each year.

It has sponsored the Polic Drive in the past.

The group originated the idea of having a Christmas and Halloween party each year. It works along with the Exchange Club and Chamber of Commerce on this project. The "nerve center" according to one of the informants is the Executive Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce.

The Rotary has a major project that runs through the years and is devoted to the assistance of crippled children. This is the Crippled Children Welfare program. All fines collected at meetings go to this fund. The group has sent a crippled girl to a Camp near Jackson during the summer of one year and has handled problems which come up in the community along these lines. The Baptist minister's daughter had an accident and broke her leg. The Club paid \$150 to help out with medical costs.

The Rotary recognizes the American Legion as the group it works with most often and is most like in membership makeup. In fact, many of the members of Rotary are American Legionnaires. The group does work with the Exchange and these two organizations, together, make up most of the

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p.82) says, "By class is meant two or more orders of people who are believed to be, and are accordingly ranked by the members of the community, in socially superior and inferior positions.

membership in the Chamber of Commerce. With members from both the "Products" and the "mainstreeters" joined together through common objectives, a process of integration is taking place within this organization.

### Exchange Club

The Exchange Club was founded in 1946 and the first president was a funeral director living in the town. The purpose of the Exchange Club is one of collective responsibility and brotherhood.<sup>3</sup>

Following are some of the major projects of the club:

In 1947, \$2,300 was paid to the highschool band and this money bought their uniforms. To collect the money the club put on Home Talent plays and minstrel shows.

The Athletic Field was furnished with cement steps by a donation of \$700 from the group.

Last year the hospital was given \$375 for an inter-communication system. This money was raised by a program called the Dawn Patrol. All the flyers of small aircraft in the area were invited to attend a breakfast at the Mohawk Airport last summer and the proceeds from this activity gained the money necessary for the hospital. The VFW helped by policing the field that day.

The last two years, the Exchange Club with Rotary Club has given a Christmas and Halloween party for the children of the village. At Christmas time Santa Claus is brought to town and there is a parade. Halloween parties lessen the damage and accidents that usually occur because of pranks.

The last project mentioned is one that continues each year. The Exchange Club works most often with the VFW and Chamber of Commerce in community projects. The organization is made up of merchants for the

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3. The Covenant of Service pledges the group to "single and collective responsibility" by "the uplifting of Social, Religious, Political, and Business ideal;...to uphold the ideals and institutions of...(the) country; to implant the life-giving, society-building spirit of Service and Comradeship in...social and business relationships; to serve in unity with those seeking better conditions, better understandings and greater opportunities for all."

most part and has few professionals on the roster. The members hold positions of lower status than those in the Rotary according to several informants. There is no one from the Mohawk Products Company on the membership list and, although this does not appear to be the result of cleavage between the "old" and the "new", it is rather certain that the Exchange Club plays a small role if any in integrating these two structures.

#### American Legion Post

This Post was organized on July 14, 1919 and named after two Mohawk veterans. The purpose of the organization is, of course, to represent the veterans but according to Joseph Lewis, the first Post Commander, "when it comes to the community we never ask for a thing, we give instead".

The Post has built a "home" and uses it for community activities as well as Legion functions. They often charge a fee when outsiders use the "home" but it is for maintenance costs rather than profit. Last year the Rotary Club was unable to find a place to hold their meetings and dinners. For an entire year the Legion allowed them to use the dining room.

The Legion carries on a child welfare and rehabilitation program as well as supports civil defense. Children of the veterans are the ones usually cared for by the group.

In the last year they have donated a hundred dollars for a wheel chair to go to the Ottawa Lake Billet and a hundred and fifty dollars for cigarettes to be sent to the veterans in nearby hospitals.

A running project is the "lending cupboard". It is a supply of hospital beds, etc. which can be lent out to any one in the community or area.

Each year the Legion helps to raise funds to send a boy to Boys State and a girl to Girls State, a program which is set up to train the children in government and democratic procedure.

When asked what group or organizations the American Legion works with in the community, Mr. Lewis mentioned the Rotary Club. He said, "We are to the Rotary what the VFW is to the Exchange." He then mentioned that he was a member of both organizations and did this because he believed that the two should not quarrel with each other. His real affiliation is with the Legion, however, and he admits that the Legion is made up of a different kind of member. The VFW are not necessarily the newcomers but are the veterans who are not satisfied with what the American Legion has to offer. They are more concerned he said, "with what we can get, rather than what we can do". He went on, "They also are always trying to compete with the American Legion and usually in meetings they come up with the fact that the Legion is doing something and they have to do it better. We do not feel quite this way in the Legion."

He did admit certain friction with the two groups and mentioned occasions of the Memorial Day parades as a good example. He has been appointed marshal for all Memorial Day parades and has had to mediate disputes that have come up. "The biggest difficulty I have is to decide who will lead the parade. Each group wants this honor. One year I couldn't get any agreement so I called in the State Militia and they led the parade. One year the American Legion refused to be on time just to be mean and so we left without them."

The general feeling, then, is that the American Legion is made up of the more staid and conservative members of Mohawk. They are more secure than the VFW but occasionally find themselves in disputes with this organization. Rather than this group being considered upstarts, they appear to be viewed as a lower stratified and discontent element of

veterans. In the minds of the American Legion is also the feeling that membership should not be limited to the veterans with combat experience. Membership lines crosscut both the old and new structure of the community and the differences that are to be found between this group and any others appear to be grounded upon common interests. These common interests are shared by the members of this organization.

#### American Legion Auxiliary

The American Legion Auxiliary was organized in 1923, four years after the Legion Post. Its main purpose is cooperation with the men's group and support of veterans' interests. Some of its projects extend beyond the aid of just veterans and their families and as a result a latent function of the group is service to the community.

A child welfare program is carried on which tends to integrate its efforts with other organizations meeting the same objectives in their own programs. Since the Health and Education Committee, Mohawk Service, Rotary, and Business and Professional Women's Club include child welfare within their programs, the Auxiliary usually handles cases which are not covered by them. Often these cases are veterans' children but may not be when the situation merits need and is not handled by these groups. This project is financed from the annual Poppy Day contributions.

The group makes contributions to the support of the Leprosarium at Carvell, Louisiana.

Much of their support goes to the Veterans hospitals at Dearborn and Battle Creek, Michigan. There is a continuous wheelchair fund which supplies wheelchairs for these hospitals.

They contribute to the children's home at Otter Lake. Dresses are made and sold by the Legion women and the funds are sent to the home. This is a well planned program that goes on each year.

As a service to the community and the area as a whole, there are a supply of hospital beds, along with a fracture bed and wheelchair which are lent out at no cost for those who need them in their homes.

Two or three years ago they donated a resuscitator to the Fire Department of Mohawk.

The group cooperates with the Bloodmobile each year and has it at the Legion Hall.

The Legion Auxiliary does not recognize any other group with which it works and is only concerned with the supporting of the men's Legion Post and serving the community as has been illustrated above. Membership corresponds to that of the Legion.

### Veterans of Foreign Wars

The Veterans of Foreign Wars was organized in 1944 by some veterans who returned early from World War II. They felt that the American Legion which had been organized after the first World War was more conservative and wasn't "able to get things done for the veterans". Their chief source of pride is that they function as a group which looks out for the benefit of all veterans. They do not feel the "world owes them a living because of their service but think that it is necessary to stand up for their rights in order to protect members who suffered from the last war". They were dissatisfied with the American Legion because, "They are made up of older men and also are of a different class". The informant inferred the feeling of deference to this higher stratified group.

Principal projects of Veterans of Foreign Wars are:

Each year the two highest students in the graduating class are given pins for their achievement. This award is to stimulate scholarship.

Packages are sent overseas to the needy.

Sponsorship of the Boy Scouts; also, attempts are now being made to organize an Explorer Troop of older boys.

Assist along with Rotary, Exchange and Chamber of Commerce with the Halloween and Christmas parties given for the children of the community.

Cooperation with the Exchange Club, American Legion, Rotary, and Chamber of Commerce in sponsoring summer recreation programs, such as soft ball games.

They are concerned with more respect and care for the American flag within the town and are trying to educate the people concerning this matter.

The group they work with most often is the Exchange Club.

Membership of the group seems to be from both the "old" and "new". Some are "mainstreeters" and others work for the "Products". Most of the "Products" men are factory workers. Mr. Jackson has helped the group out by furnishing them with several things they have needed. He has told them that he wants to spend the money he has on his community and the organizations in it. Around the common interest in helping out and remembering the veteran of both world wars is to be found an integrative force of associational behavior.

#### Veterans of Foreign Wars Auxiliary

This group was organized July 26, 1946 and as is the case with most auxiliary posts, its purpose is to help support the men's VFW and work in close coordination with them. It has as a latent function a means of allowing the women to share a place in the society as wives of veterans and is a means of further strengthening family ties.

It lists as its major projects:

The sponsoring of the Girl Scout Troop in town.

It has sponsored a Dance Review and the proceeds have been added to the treasury.

It holds Bake Sales for the Polio Drives.

It donates to the Red Cross.



It has as its chief project making contributions to the support of the Eaton Rapids Home for Disabled Veterans.

For the last two years it has been emphasizing community service and has tried to cooperate with the Mohawk Service Club along lines of welfare.

Most of these projects mentioned run concurrently through the years and are considered to be established programs for the group. The only organization that it mentions working with is the Mohawk Service Club. This cooperation has come as a result of the community service project it is carrying on.

#### Mohawk Service Club

The Mohawk Service Club was organized in 1949. It is an informal group made up of members who are representatives from other organizations in the village. The purpose of the organization is to furnish aid to the needy who are not covered by County Welfare assistance. According to the President, at the beginning of each year, representatives from all the organizations in town are invited to attend a meeting and at this time twelve people are elected as a board who are to be members of the club. No others for that year are members and it is the duty of the twelve to take active part in club work. This is the ideal but usually not the reality. It is reported that there are usually only a few who actively help in the work. The present members who are taking an active part in the Service Club are:

- A Quaker Minister's wife;
- Wife of a garage mechanic;
- Wife of a Mohawk Sales employee;
- Retired woman;

Minister of a sectarian group;

A retired physician's wife.

The group gets support from the community fund and spends the money according to its own judgement. It has an investigating committee which decides whether or not help is necessary. Last year \$175 was spent by the group for the following purposes:

Clothing and food was supplied to transients and their families who were stranded in town without help.

Occasionally donations of \$10 are made to needy families for groceries.

A clothing fund is set up and administered through the schools. Good used clothing is asked for and a supply is stored at the school. Most attention is paid to the first six grades because at this age the children are less sensitive to second hand clothes. Whenever a child in the classroom is lacking some article of wearing apparel, the teacher may take him to the clothing room and supply him from the pool of clothes. Whenever certain items cannot be furnished by donations, money is used by the Club to furnish what is needed. From time to time the clothing fund is replenished.

At certain times, especially Christmas, the Mohawk Club, VFW Auxiliary, and the Churches cooperate with the Service Club. The Mohawk Club usually furnishes Christmas Baskets, while the VFW Auxiliary takes care of a needy family. Churches are asked to furnish volunteers for the work necessary at this time. They often do more. Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts cooperate at this time.

Almost every project of the Mohawk Service Club runs through the year and repeats itself annually. The Club's function which appears to be a united effort towards providing welfare not covered by the County, does not engage in any additional activities.

Inasmuch as most service projects point to an integration of "old" and "new" through common purposes, it may be that this Club, by bringing

many organizations together, may act as a dominant integrative force itself. Since it is the most recently organized group in the community, this phenomenon has not yet been observed as taking place.

#### Health and Education Committee

This group was founded in 1943 by the wife of a "Products" executive. The sponsor of this group had been in the community only a short time and said she was appalled at the lack of health information and control on the school level. She had been a school principal in another county where the Kellogg Foundation had been active and she had been used to complete health records of school children. When she came to Mohawk she found this was not the case. In 1943 an immunization survey was organized to see what need there was for the inoculation of school children. The survey showed conditions were poor. Only 60% of the children were immunized against disease. By publicizing this fact and getting the support of the local Doctors, the percentage of children immunized rose to 90 per cent. Later the Health and Education Committee sponsored a chest X-ray project and had a unit come from the State Health Department to take X-rays of the children.

The group was originally made up of representatives from all the major organizations in Mohawk but as time went by the committee became inactive. It was originally the purpose of the organization to find the problem areas of health and do something about them. A certain amount of money was set aside for any necessary action that would be taken once the problems were ascertained. This money was raised and contributed by the community fund. As the group became inactive, people would call its founder and principal leader whenever they knew of a child in the commu-

ity which needed help and could not be covered by the County Welfare or other service groups in the village. These problems centered around aiding school children. In 1951, the Community Fund allotted \$200 for the committee to use for its program.

It is significant that the leader of this project is a "newcomer" in the community but got the support of both the old and new groups because she appealed to the interest in children. Once again, integration has been made possible through a common service interest in the community.

#### Hospital Auxiliary

The Hospital Auxiliary was organized on February 3, 1941. According to Mrs. Fred Johnson, wife of the Mohawk Sales head executive, Harold Jackson heard from Miss Simson, Superintendent of the Hospital, that she could use some volunteer help and so he told the men to get their wives down to the Hospital and do something about it. The Hospital Auxiliary is made up of 250 women who come from the village and the surrounding area. Since the Hospital serves a large area, the women outside the community feel they have an equal stake in it. Its major purpose is to help the Hospital in whatever way is possible.

It has provided volunteers for the mending and sewing of all hospital linen. Since 1946 it has paid a seamstress to do this job.

During the war years it sponsored the Nurses Aide publicity and some of its members served as nurses aides.

Jam, jelly, and canned goods showers for the Hospital have been given. Last year a Tea was held at Mrs. Johnson's house and money made from a raffle given at this time was added to the Hospital fund.

Gifts of equipment for the Hospital have been one of its standard projects. The Hospital Auxiliary has contributed money and equipment amounting to \$7,762.95 in the last eleven years.

The membership receives much of its drive from women who are wives of Mohawk Products men. Executives' wives appear to play an active part in it. There are members who have no connection with Mohawk Products, however, and play equally active parts. With such a large membership list there is a surprising number of women who seem to be active, i.e., they take part in the various functions that occur during the year. The organization works by itself but many of the women who are in it are members of the other associations in town.

#### Wit and Wisdom Club

The Wit and Wisdom Club was originally founded in 1899 and has as its main objective to serve as a literary group. It has recently become a group more oriented to education and recreation. To be a member is considered an honor by those who are now in the organization. It has a limit of forty members and there is a long waiting list.

The Wit and Wisdom Club does not operate as an action group but has tried to maintain itself as a center of culture within the community. As a result it has sponsored along with other active groups (Grange, Mohawk Monday Club, and Business and Professional Women's Club) within the community, the local Town Hall Lecture Series. This series has failed because of a lack of interest within the community but, while it existed, the group often gave five to ten dollars as their contribution to keeping it alive. This is a sizeable amount, considering that membership dues are only fifty cents.

It has cooperated in the late Blood Bank Drive.

For the last few years, it has held joint meetings with the Grange, Mohawk Monday Club, and Business and Professional Women's Club. These meetings usually consist of a dinner and some sort of cultural entertainment.

As has been mentioned, the membership is selective. It was originally composed of school teachers, ministers, physicians, and other selected individuals. There is no reason to believe that this policy has changed. Several of the members are in their 80's. It is interesting to note that no Mohawk Products people are members, hence there seems to have been little adaptation to the newer element in the community. However, some newcomers, not connected with the "Products", are members. Also the group cooperates with other organizations which are made up of both "old" and "new". Therefore, although the group is one of the oldest in the town, it has adjusted to the changes that have come about in recent years. The only comment made by the informant concerning the question of why the "Products" people were not members was, "Well I never even thought about it. I guess they just aren't interested in this sort of thing and therefore aren't on our waiting list."

#### Mohawk Monday Club

The Mohawk Monday Club was organized in 1894 and federated with the County Federation of Women's Clubs in 1896. The purpose as stated in its constitution is "study and mental development". Such mottoes are to be found in its programs: "A good book is the best of friends, the same today and forever." - Tupper. The theme of the club is to "live intelligently". This organization naturally appeals to a limited group of people. There are both newcomers and oldtimers in the club but it is evident that in both cases the group covers a selective segment of the society.

It has a representative on the Mohawk Service Club.

It meets with the Wit and Wisdom Club, Grange, and Business and Professional Women's Club once a year for a dinner and cultural program.

It has sponsored the Town Hall Series in the past.

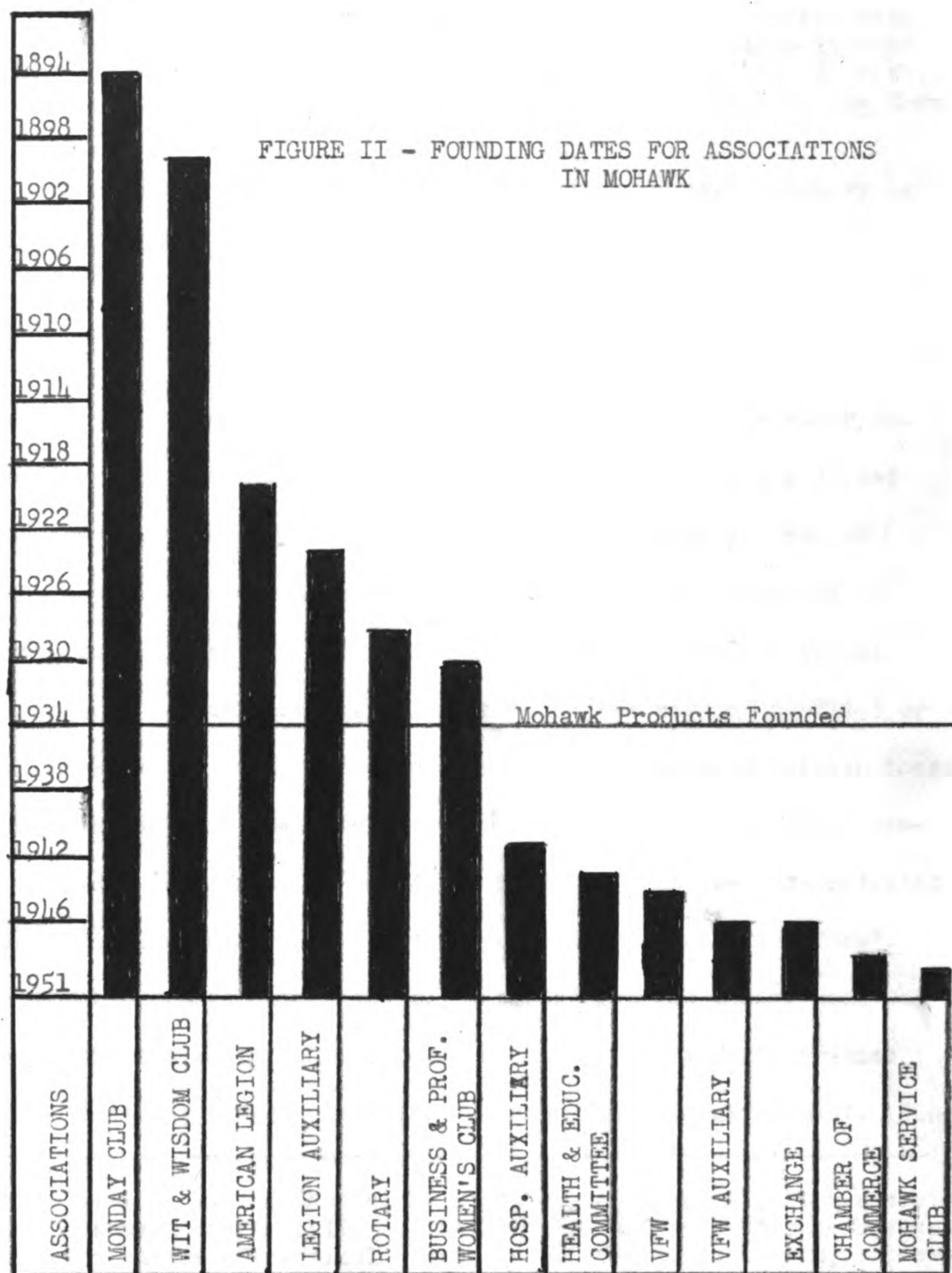
One member expresses the club as a "would-be literary club where women congregate to gossip". It is around this later function that the group has probably found greatest interest. It draws from the "old" and "new" even though it is the oldest organization in town. If it is a "gossip" group and both elements of the structure are found in the membership, it would appear to be a highly integrative force in the community.

#### Business and Professional Women's Club

The organization was originally founded in 1930 and federated in the same year with the County Federation of Women's Clubs. The object of this club as formally stated "shall be to promote the interest of the business and professional women and to bring the members into relations of mutual helpfulness". The group meets once a month for regular business meetings. Membership is limited to business and professional women. According to the informant membership differs mainly from the Mohawk Monday Club in that it meets at a time when it is convenient for working women to get together. Otherwise it has practically the same function within the community. It is also made up of both the "old" and "new".

The Club meets with the Wit and Wisdom Club, Grange, and Mohawk Monday Club at a joint meeting each year, at which time there is a dinner and cultural program. One of its purposes is to maintain a cultural program.

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The Club has a child welfare program which is mainly concerned with a few children who need help and are not cared for by another agency or club.

At holiday times the Club supplies a basket for needy families and cooperates with Rotary and Exchange on this project.

It recognizes one agency in which it combines its efforts with others by sending a representative, as the group which it most cooperates with, and that is the Mohawk Service Club. It has also joined other community organizations in sponsoring the Town Hall Lecture Series in the past.

It has the same effect upon the structural makings of the community as does the Mohawk Monday Club.

### Summary

The chapter on institutions described certain conflicts which occurred when the old persistent structure of community life was forced to accomodate with the new. It was further seen in this process of change that certain accomodations occurred with the new structure in such a way that neither the old or the new maintained their original makeup. In this chapter there appears to be little sign of conflict or even awareness on the part of the informants of differences between these elements. Associations, because of their function, are made up of members with common interests<sup>4</sup> and in this chapter it has been demonstrated that membership includes representatives of both the "old" and "new". In the chapter on institutions the signs of integration became most observable within the realm of health and education and the differences appeared most strongly within the area of economics and government. Since

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4. MacIver, R. M. and Charles H. Page, op. cit., p.437, "the association establishes a specifically defined and limited relationship between its members by virtue of particular attributes or qualifications, corresponding to the particular purposes for which it is organized."

most of these associations are centered around community service projects, it can be seen that this phase is consistent with the previous findings. Certain associations which are of an economic makeup in this chapter show elements of strain, especially within the Chamber of Commerce, but for the most part integration of both old and new seems to be the apparent effect of associational behavior.

A further indication of integration can be found in the fact that over half of the associations listed in this chapter were founded after the new structure became evident within the village. Because both the "old" and "new" were represented in the membership of these latter associations, the common interests that guide the establishment of such organizations were shared by both elements.

✓ Although only evidenced through comments made by informants, there seems to be growing in Mohawk a new stratification of a higher and lower order.<sup>5</sup> This awareness on the part of the informant does not include the difference between the "old" and "new" but instead draws a difference from "common interests" between groups. With Mohawk Products, came a new group of professionals, such as, teachers, nurses, preachers, and doctors. These professionals were needed because of the growing community. Such people were considered different from the factory workers. Therefore occupational differences along with common social interests are becoming more sharply defined. As this happens, a class system be-

5. Any class structure that is forming in Mohawk is difficult to observe at the present time of the village's development. This is partially explained by the following reference: Warner, Lloyd W., Marcia Meeker, and Kenneth Eels, Social Class in America. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949, p.23. "Class varies from community to community. The new city is less likely than the old one to have a well organized class order; this is also true for cities whose growth has been rapid as compared with those which have not been disturbed by huge increases in population from other regions or countries or by rapid displacement of old industries by new ones."

comes more clearly observable. The structural elements that have been observed in this thesis, the "old" and the "new", become more closely assimilated as class lines crosscut them.

While institutional patterns still appear to manifest a contrast between "old" and "new", associations in Mohawk manifest an integration between these elements which is expressed in common interest and activity.

## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the preceding chapters, indications of persistency and change have been revealed as characteristics of the social structure. In Chapter II, it was seen that the events which occurred resulted in changes that were absorbed in the structure in such a way as to provide characteristics which have maintained themselves through time and have become part of the totality without significantly changing the structural form.

The traditional nature of the town reinforced by historical pride has become so much a part of the Mohawk way of life that landmarks still exist in the town which portray the past and are pointed out with equal pride by both "old-roots" and "newcomers". The quality of community pride, which has lasted through the years, resulted from the early settlement patterns. Isolated towns rapidly grew and rivalries of a political nature occurred as these towns competed for the position of County Seat. This rivalry still exists today and is even reflected by the "newcomers" who are "building a bigger hospital than that in Augusta" or who would "rather drive to Detroit than try to get anything in that awful city of Augusta".<sup>1</sup>

Historical events of the last 20 years prior to Mohawk Products represent change within the structure but apparently did not contain

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1. It was the finding of the observer that the trade center of Augusta was much larger and had a great deal more to offer in general merchandise than did the shops of Mohawk.

within themselves the same impetus for structural change as did the development of the "Products". The most significant events prior to the development of Mohawk Products were the depression of the early 1930's; the change from Agriculture to Industry throughout the United States and the effect it had upon Mohawk; and the part played by the Ford Motor Company in the village.<sup>2</sup>

The depression, although seriously interfering with the economy of the town, was not able to destroy the stability of the system or basically change the structural form. The reason for this was partially caused by the good farm land that was to be found around the village and upon which much of the village economy was based. During this period, Mohawk did not experience any observable loss of population to larger urban areas according to the census.<sup>3</sup> This is partially explained by the support of Ford at this time and also by the entrance of the Mohawk Products Company and the people that came with it.<sup>4</sup> The depression did leave the people

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2. These events were difficult to separate from the crucial one of this thesis because they occurred during the same general period of time and consequently whatever relationship may exist between an event and its effects becomes obscure. Although observed as overlapping conditions, these events may be separated through analysis. They become distinct as to their effect upon the total structure.

3. It is evident that although Mohawk remained the same in population through the years, many of the younger people were leaving; otherwise natural increase would provide an increase in size. A large loss of population to the extent of making Mohawk either a ghost town or one with a small population never occurred.

4. (See Table I) The increase of almost 500 people in the total population can be explained to some degree by the growth of the "Products" but until the 1940's, Industry continued to remain small and did not grow until the war years.

of Mohawk with a concern for future security and this characteristic has played an important part in the integration of the old structure with the new.

The change from Agriculture to Industry was largely contingent upon the general trend in the United States of rapid advancement in technology. Mohawk, once the center of importance within the County and State, was forced to take the position of an unimportant rural town. With such a development, the residents were made aware of this trend and forced to an awareness that future growth of any size was impossible with their particular economic balance. Industry that did exist in town was of a small marginal nature and could not by its nature bring gain or size to the area.

The entrance of the Ford Motor Company into this situation seems to have been more significant as a symbol than as a determinant of structural change. Symbolically the appearance of Ford in Mohawk meant that the town could no longer be free of the Industrial influence and continue to exist just as it had been through the past years. It allowed the people to see the difficulty involved in remaining independent from outside controls within a small town economy. The advent of Ford, being as temporary as it was, left less of a mark upon the total structure than other industrial developments which came later. Ford's approach to business and community was nearing the end of its influence and a newer approach in business-community relations was growing on the American scene.

"Businessmen recognize this new orientation when they speak of themselves, as they frequently do, as "trustees" for a variety of publics. And while they try to manipulate these publics and to balance between them, they, like the political leaders are manipulated by the expectations the public has, or is thought

to have of them. If one had to set a date for the change, one might say that the old epoch ended with the death of Henry Ford."<sup>5</sup>

It was in the setting of these latter events that the Mohawk Products Company was founded. Both the founders of the company and the people of Mohawk at this time were faced with a difficult situation. Lack of any sizeable capital, in the hands of the owners or the community, made cooperation advisable. Neither the old structure or the new could continue as particular entities without accomodating to each other. Accomodation was certainly necessary for the success of industry and by this time people in the town were anxious to see a more secure economy in operation.

Changes which have been noted, as resulting from the industrial impact are: the growth in population; the desire for a more modern business district; a growing agreement that the town must have a new type of government; the large accomplishments in community health, symbolized by a modern and rapidly growing hospital; an awareness on the part of the citizens that schools must be enlarged in order to properly educate the children of the community. These various changes in the structure appear to point to an essential factor involved in all recent change in the structural form of Mohawk.

What seems to be the essential factor in the change of the social structure is that of planning for growth. This change has become more evident in the last seventeen years, a tendency for the town to look toward growth with rational and well thought out plans. These

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5. Riesman, David, The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950, p.139.

are not just idle considerations fostered by dreams that any Chamber of Commerce might instigate but are manifest concrete efforts on the part of many to actually bring growth and modernization to the town. Leadership along these lines still appears to be taken by those representing the new structure in the village. When Jackson says that he has to "needle the town" it is a fair indication that complete integration or agreement within the town is not evident. Furthermore, the inability of the "mainstreeter" to adjust to a planned growth because he has a small amount of speculating capital continues as a deterrent towards this integration.

Indication of future developments are illustrated by the following excerpts from a speech made by Harold Jackson of Mohawk Products. This speech was made at the annual meeting held by the Chamber of Commerce for future planning.

"I am not telling you that Mohawk is going to be a town of 35,000 people, but I am saying that it could be that large if the Products Company decided to solidify its position and manufacture, here in Mohawk, all of the things that it now buys and assembles. Frankly, we are thinking along those lines, and it is not unusual that we should think that way. Think back to the automobile manufacturers when, in years past, they bought parts, built here and there, and then assembled them in Detroit - the automotive center. What has happened during the past years? The auto industry has solidified its position...we are spending hundreds of thousands of dollars annually for freight on products that we buy shipped to us. We also are paying some manufacturer a profit for making these things. Think what we could save, think how we could cut out selling costs, if we decided to build the things we need right here in Mohawk..."<sup>6</sup>

Wondering whether Mohawk could meet this challenge of growth he went on to say,

"Today we are employing about 2,500 people. We have a payroll of about \$10,000,000 a year. How many of the folk who work for



us live here? Just about one-third or about 900....We don't want Mohawk to grow too fast, we realize that the growth must be steady, that is why I am telling you now something about our plans for the future, so that you business men can help us to grow at the same time that you and our community are growing. There was a time when business confined its plans to its own group. That is no longer so. We are a part of this community, and we want you to know and understand something about our business and problems. We discuss our problems and the trends in business with our employees, and we want to do the same with the community we call home..."<sup>7</sup>

Listing some of the things he thought should be "musts" in future growth, he mentioned,

"Changing Mohawk's form of government from village to city; an even larger hospital; a new hotel; an expanded business district; better school facilities; steady growth in house construction; improved public utilities; and most of all a spirit of unrest and discontent on the part of the folk who live here until these accomplishments have been realized....'you can't be satisfied and continue to progress...as soon as you quit striving, as soon as you feel content with your lot, you stop progress. We showed a nice gain in sales last year over the year before, but we are shooting for a larger gain this year. In five years we hope to double our sales.'"<sup>8</sup>

As an example of what he would like to see done, Jackson has lead the way along these lines. He offers two hundred dollars to all of his employees as a down payment for their homes if they will live in Mohawk. He has bought a large area of farm land on the edge of town, leveled it, had it landscaped and put in drainage, and then had it subdivided for sales to those who wished to settle in Mohawk. A more forceful step towards stimulating the town in terms of growth has been a threat of moving the "Products" out of the village if it refuses to grow along with industry.

Earl Sanders, Editor of the Mohawk Herald and a "mainstreeter", spoke after Jackson on the same night of the before mentioned speech.

7. The Mohawk Herald, February 7, 1952.

8. Ibid.

What he had to say was an answer to Jackson from the group representing the old structure.

"He reviewed the many accomplishments of the Chamber and pointed out that Mohawk, since 1940, has made the most rapid growth of any community in the County. Since 1940, he said, 523 new houses have been built here at a cost estimated at \$5,250,000 and pay-rolls in the decade have nearly doubled."<sup>9</sup>

Sanders then looked into the future, as did Jackson.

"Mohawk has a golden opportunity to expand, to become the home of 7,000 or 8,000 people within the next five or six years, if it meets its challenge...However, we must not permit our milestones to become mill stones. We must not become content with our accomplishments."<sup>10</sup>

Sanders, although more conservative in estimates of future growth, also expresses the belief in a planned and rational progress. This expression reveals a definite trend towards the integration along lines of future planning. It is true, however, that many of the "mainstreeters" who can not take this large step forward will suffer but the overall belief upon the part of the more wealthy business man is that growth of the town is the only means of continuing in the community. The people of the town are not forgetful of the depression and recognize the need for a secure economy. Many feel that growth of the town will provide this security.

A planned growth will mean a more rational and secular approach to living within the village. As a Baptist minister observed, the town will not be the same in the next few years, as evidenced by his experience in getting a hole filled in the street fronting his church. His realization that problems of this kind must be solved differently as the community grows and demands increase, indicate that many of the citizens both

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9. The Mohawk Herald, February 7, 1952.

10. Ibid.

"old" and "new" are becoming aware of this change and the need of planning for it.

In reviewing the institutional patterns the previous indications of growth were analyzed wherever they were evident. It can be seen in this chapter as we review structural change that the institutional norms are becoming more and more redefined by the "new forces" that are acting upon the community. Certain aspects of persistency continue in the form mentioned earlier in the chapter. There is, however, the matter of integration which is continuing. Associations provide a vehicle for this process of structural change. As the various members of the larger social system interact for common needs and around common interests in various areas of community life, the differences that existed in 1937 between the "old" and the "new" have become less and less evident.

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